

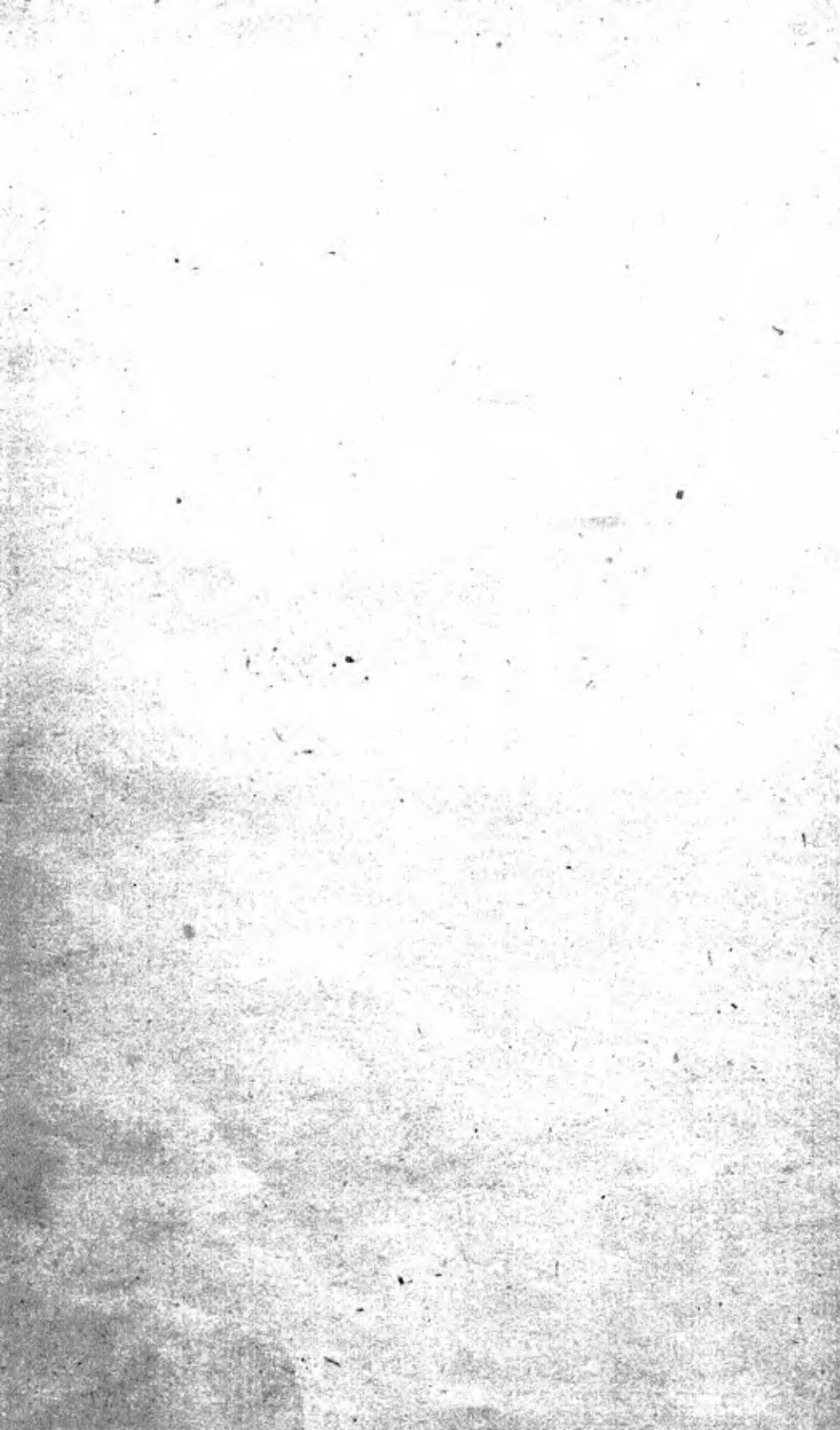
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BULLETIN

OF

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

THE SOUNDS OF BENGALI 1925

By J. D. ANDERSON, M.A., Lecturer in Bengali

IN the first issue of our Bulletin the Director was good enough to allow me to insert a very diffident and tentative attempt to record the characteristic sounds of Bengali in the script of the International Phonetic Association, and to reduce them to some sort of rule for the benefit of students. Writing at a long distance of time and space from Bengal, I was not so rash as to suppose that my assertions were beyond question. On the contrary, I hoped and wished to provoke discussion on a subject which has only recently become the subject of serious study. I was not surprised, therefore, when a valued colleague (not himself a Bengali) told me that some Bengali friends of his were convinced that my attempt was a failure and my statements incorrect. This criticism, however, was not of much help to me, since it did not give details.

Meanwhile, Mr. Suniti-kumar Chatterji has, after a sound training in European phonetic methods, been doing notable work, it seems, in recording and explaining the phonetic facts of his native speech. He has won the Premchand Roychand Studentship with a thesis on the Sounds of Bengali. He has also written a valuable article in the Journal of the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad

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on that singularly interesting work, the "Crepax Xaxtrre-Orthibhed", a Roman Catholic Catechism composed about 1734 by the Padre Assunção. This is written in Eastern Bengali in Roman characters according to Portuguese spelling, and is an invaluable record of the pronunciation of Dacca at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the January number of the *Calcutta Modern Review* Mr. Chatterji has an article on Bengali Phonetics, in which he makes a detailed examination of my own quite tentative notes on the sounds of Bengali. If I had known that there existed so competent a student of the subject I would not have put pen to paper. It is obvious that a careful and complete record of Bengali sounds can best be made at Calcutta and by a student whose native language is Bengali. Since I wrote, too, Mr. Jñānendra Mohan Dās has published his admirable *Abhidhān*, which, among other valuable features, gives the pronunciation of most of the words in his dictionary. I may perhaps be allowed to say, with modest surprise and gratification, that these two authorities bear me out in all (or nearly all) of my conclusions. In one matter I may claim to have pointed out something which had never before been noted in print, namely, the characteristic initial phrasal accent of Bengali. I was much pleased (and relieved) to find that Mr. Chatterji writes of this accent that "in standard Bengali it is always initial". And, elsewhere, "Mr. Anderson has given a correct exposition of the phenomena of Bengali accentuation. This initial phrase-stress, which seems to ignore all other syllables, is very marked in the standard colloquial, and the widespread practice of unlaunting, as well as the development of holophrastic expressions (e.g. *ko'jjacco for kotlā jāitecha, ne : s gejā for lai yā āsis' diyā jā*) are unquestionably due to this strong initial phrase stress."

I could wish that Mr. Chatterji had written "phrase accent" rather than "phrase stress", since "stress" is now taken to mean an accent of force, such as the English and German word-accent, whereas the Bengali phrase-accent is, I venture to think, mainly an accent of duration. These accents are very difficult to fix, since the same syllable may bear an accent of pitch, or of duration, or of force, or any two or even three of these, and an observer is apt to note that quality which is prominently audible in his own language. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once told me

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that the accent by which the rhythm of his verse is regulated is undoubtedly accent of duration, and that to this extent his metres are "quantitative".

If I have written these few words, it is simply to draw attention to the work being done by such men as Mr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar, Mr. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, and Mr. Jñānendra Mohan Dās. I will not pretend that I was not pleased to find my own tentative notes confirmed by so competent an authority as Mr. Chatterji. But I must candidly admit, in conclusion, that a careful study of his article has convinced me that, in my old age, I am become a "Bāṅgāl", i.e., that my present pronunciation is not that of my native Calcutta but of the eastern districts in which I spent most of my official life. I will also confess, while I am about it, that I was not aware of this, and rashly claimed that I was recording the facts of standard (i.e. Calcutta) Bengali!



A HINDU "PARADISO": SABARA-SANKARA
VILASA, I, 54-85

Translated by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D., Lecturer in Sanskrit

PREFACE

IN the following pages is presented a translation of a passage from Shadākshari Dēvar's famous Kanarese poem Śabara-śankara-vilāsa. Some of the more tedious passages I have omitted; enough remains to show how the pious Śaiva conceives his Paradise. Certainly Shadākshari's visions of heaven are very unlike those of Dante and Milton. But they have much value as documents both of religion and of poetry.

Of the three chief Dravidian languages, Tamil, Kanarese, and Telugu, none is a finer vehicle of thought and feeling than the Kanarese. Naturally musical, sonorous, flexible, and graceful, it came early under the influence of Sanskrit, and soon developed a rich and beautiful literature of its own. Of its many brilliant poets none is more famous than Shadākshari Dēvar, who has left two poems, the romance Rājasēkhara-vilāsa and the Śabara-śankara-vilāsa, the latter a version of the epic theme from the Mahābhārata handled with consummate skill by Bhāravi in his Sanskrit work Kirātārjuniya. In respect of time Shadākshari is quite late: the colophon of his Rājasēkhara-vilāsa is dated in the Śaka year 1577¹ and the cyclic year Jaya, corresponding to A.D. 1654. Coming thus almost at the end of the literary succession, Shadākshari had at his disposal the accumulated riches of nearly a thousand years of poetical creation, and he used them with a lavish hand.

In preparing this translation I have used two native editions with Kanarese commentaries, viz. :—

A.—An edition printed and published at Bellary in 1886.

B.—An edition printed at Madras and published at Bellary in 1887.

¹ This is how I understand the chronogram *ratna-samudra-bāṇa-bhū*. The use of *ratna* for "seven" is unusual, but is justified by the "seven jewels" of the *chakravartī*. If we take it in the usual sense of "nine", the two dates will not tally.

As there are often discrepancies in these editions between the readings given in the text and those presented in the commentary, I have in such cases denoted the former by A 1 and B 1 and the latter by A 2 and B 2. On the whole B represents a textual tradition different from that of A, and generally much superior to it.

TRANSLATION

[54] On the summit of the mountain of lustrous gold (Mēru) which was thus radiant there shone in its majesty the city of the Cities' Foe,¹ with a gateway of gold, where stood together² a castle of most brilliant jewels, a moat with depths reaching down to the Primeval Tortoise, an ocean³ of nectareous waters, a rampart of sapphire, and bastions of diamond. [55] The exceeding fair city of the Cities' Foe was brilliant with rows of bright palaces of princes of the Goblin Band adorned by golden towers of beautiful shape, together with lofty banners (bearing the device) of the Bull fluttering so as to strike against the expanse of the sky, and with parks radiant with nectar-filled lakes and celestial trees. [56] Brilliantly beautiful was the high-road of that city, in which were the ringing sounds of musical instruments surrounding⁴ the lords of the regions of the universe coming to do service to Bhava,⁵ the tinkling of bells on the necks of the gods' elephants brilliant in splendour as they walked in ordered festival, the clamour of goblins issuing to wanton in sleepless play, and the rattling of anklets of celestial damsels quivering in high-flung sport. [57] Seated on a swan, adorned with three eyes, resplendent with golden cord, tall golden rod, noose, and rosary of elæocarpus berries, surrounded by seven crores of splendid Bhairavas like himself, accompanied by that jewel of damsels, Brāhmī, the great Bhairava named Asitāṅga stands ceaselessly on the eastern road of this Kailāsa. [58] Fiery-eyed, bearing sword, pike, bright *khaṭvāṅga*,⁶ and *dhakka* drum,⁷ having a body like lustrous gold, riding on a bull, terrible of tusk,

¹ Namely Śiva, the destroyer of Tripura or the Three Cities of the demons.

² Reading with B *gottaśaṅgaśu ghaṭis*; A has *gottaśaṅgaḥ aggaṭis*.

³ Reading with B *°samudraḥ*; A 1 has *°samruddhaḥ*, A 2 *°samriddhaḥ*.

⁴ Read *°parivṛita*° with A; *parikṛita*, B.

⁵ Another title of Śiva.

⁶ A kind of club, on which see Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. i, p. 7.

⁷ A sort of drum shaped like an hour-glass.

infinite, the Bhairava Ruru, accompanied by (his consort) the brilliant Mahēśvari, together with twelve crores of Bhairavas, for ever cheerfully stands in splendour guarding the south-eastern gate of Hara's city. [59] Bearing a parrot-pike,¹ bolt, and spear, radiant as the sun, riding a beautiful peacock, attended by ten crores of Bhairavas, with his mistress Kaumārī² showing exceeding splendour, having three stately eyes, undefiled by love, the Bhairava Chaṇḍa well guards with ease the southern gate. [60] Mounted on a Garuḍa, holding a disc and conch-shell, with *kaumōḍakī* and *sārṅga*³ displayed, accompanied by Nārāyaṇī, the Bhairava called Krōḍa, who stood at the south-western gate, with five crores of exalted Bhairavas duly attending him, surrounded by crowds of witches, was likewise fair to the eye. [61] Wearing braided locks like the edges of a fresh cloud, appearing with four arms in which were seen club and conch, shield and sword, and with six crores of warriors, accompanied by the lady Vārāhī, with a buffalo as vehicle, the Bhairava Unnatta gladdened the eye on the gate-house at the stately western side of the Trident-bearer's city. [62] Mounted on a furious elephant, holding spear, bow, bolt,⁴ and javelin, with a body⁵ flashing forth golden beams, accompanied by the lady Śaśī,⁶ resplendent, with three crores of valiant Bhairavas like himself appearing on his left side, the Bhairava Kapālin stood in splendour with them cheerfully keeping guard at the north-western gateway. [63] Seated on a crow as vehicle, with bell, pike, skull, and *dhakke* drum⁷ shining in his grim hands, with twelve banded crores of Bhairavas waiting upon him in a crowd, the Bhairava named Bhishāṇa, whose body is smoke-coloured, together with Chāmūṇḍī stood there attached to the northern side. [64] Mounted on a rat, holding in his hands club, shield, board, and great sword, with a body glittering like gold, having an eye in his forehead, with eight crores of bright Bhairavas equal in power to himself appearing (beside him), the husband of Mahākālī, brilliant in arts, adorned with ashes, the Bhairava named Saṁhāra stands in

¹ Apparently a pike with a head curved like a parrot's beak.

² B wrongly gives *Kāmārīy*.

³ These are respectively the mace and the bow of Viṣṇu, whose other emblems are also borne by Krōḍa.

⁴ Reading °*pavi*°: A 1 has °*pariv*°, A 2 °*phar*°, B °*par*°.

⁵ Read °*oḍalim* with A 2 and B 2: A 1 has °*oḍavilim*, B 1 °*oḍavin*.

⁶ So B and A 1; Śaśīy A 2.

⁷ See above, p. 5, n. 7.

majesty joyfully on the north-eastern side with his associate troop.¹

In the capital city of Śiva, which showed its loveliness within the bounds of the guardianship of the Eight Bhairavas, mighty beings of valour, who were thus constantly manifest, and which, possessing an exceeding brilliance which not even the King of Serpents² could fully describe, an exceeding charm, an immense majesty, a most mighty beauty, was auspicious to the eye and ravishing to the mind.

[65] On the eastern side appears in vast bulk the R̥g-vēda, white as the moon, in the form of a gateway one hundred thousand *yōjanas* in extent; on it is seen Nandikēśvara holding a golden wand, surrounded by four hundred millions of goodly goblins, while Brahman and others duly wait for the appointed time (of admission). [66] The Yajur-vēda, bearing the form of a gateway of the height of one hundred thousand *yōjanas* in measurement, glittered on the southern side, radiant in blue colour; there, surrounded by countless potent goblins born from the hair (of Śiva), equipped with sword, bow, arrows, and shield, the lord Virabhadra, resplendent with his mistress, stands in brilliance. [67] The great Sāma-vēda stands in splendour on the western side in the form of a gateway, perfectly white, having a height measured by one hundred thousand *yōjanas*; and at the corner of it appears the mighty Nīlalohita, brilliant of body, attended by many troops of associate Rudras. [68] Again the Atharva-vēda, famous for its contents, stands on the north in the form of a vast gateway, having a height measured by one hundred thousand *yōjanas*, and the colour of gold; Mahākāla, attended by troops of goblins, adorned by valour, terrible with weapons, stands duly in its portal, associated with majesty. [69] While on all four sides of the encircling bright golden ring-wall³ of the crowd of graceful towers on the rows of ruby pavilions the splendour of the glittering portals of the gateways displayed itself in unison, in the centre there appeared the Trident-bearer's hall of state, measuring a crore of *yōjanas*. [70] A right goodly sight was the Lord's assembly-hall, in which were united emerald altars, ruby architraves, sapphire columns, bright pavements of moonstone, goodly beams of coral,

¹ Or "associated with might".

² Śeṣha, who has a thousand tongues.

³ Reading °*śālada* with B; A 1 has °*gālada*, A 2 °*kālada*.

rafters of precious stones, daises radiant with topazes, cupolas bright with pearls, and doors of brilliant diamonds. [71] The Cosmos of the Lotus-born (Brahman) is visible in the circle of the mighty¹ radiance of His most lofty palace, after the manner of an elephant reflected in a mirror; like a glow-worm in front of the rays of the rising Lover of the Lotus (the Sun) appear the masses of jewels on the Serpent-kings' hoods in presence of His palace.²

On the north-eastern side Puissance in the form of a lion, on the south-east pure Righteousness in the shape of a bull, on the south-west Wisdom in the form of the spirit of peace, and on the north-west Passionlessness in the character of majesty, trampling under foot on the east, south, west, and north respectively Unrighteousness in the form of a goblin, Ignorance monstrous of limb, Passion hideous in guise, and Impuissance deformed of body, (these eight qualities), thus on eight sides wearing eight forms, were occupying a blessed great dais adorned with wishing-stones, which struck the eye by being a crore of *yōjanas* in breadth and of the like height, in the midst of this radiant great hall of assembly, in which was contained a circle of vast lustre shining so as to eclipse the brightness of crores of fires, suns, and moons; and brilliant in the midst of these—

[72] There appeared a lotus-throne containing sun, fire, and moon, of which the Serpent-king was the stalk, the magic powers of *animan* and the rest³ in patent action formed eight bright petals, *Vāmā* and the other Powers⁴ bore the character of a pericarp, and the *Vidyāsas*⁵ were seen gathered together in the guise of its lustrous filaments.

Incarnate in beauty upon this lotus-throne, upon a high couch consisting of the great Bindu⁶ shining in ruddy lustre like a bed of safflower,

¹ Reading °mahā° with A; but °bhavad°, the reading of B, may be right, though it is tame.

² Reading *tat-sabhā°* with A1 and B; A2 has *tat-prabhā°*, which is more vigorous.

³ These are the eight *aśvāryas* or *siddhis*; for a list see Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*, s.v. *siddhi*.

⁴ The *Śaktis* or *Energies* of the Supreme Being, conceived as his female consorts.

⁵ Beings belonging to the divine hierarchy of Śaiva theology.

⁶ Literally, the dot on the mystic syllable *ōm*, representing the phase of indeterminate illumination assumed by Śiva in the process of cosmic revelation when His power of activity arises into consciousness.

[73] Appeared Śaṅkara, the moving force in sentient and insentient being, without second, without sin, known through the Upanishads, the seat of arts, remote from beginning and end, noble, spiritual, surpassing the universe, embodied in the universe, ocean of mercy, foundation of the world's origin, maintenance, and dissolution, giver of great enjoyment and salvation, whose feet are adored by the Lotus-eyed (Viṣṇu) and other immortals. [74] Brilliant was Mahēśvara with the splendour of the crescent-moon borne on the locks of His ruddy braided hair, upon which was the Heavenly River (Ganges), of the eye in the midst of His brow, of earrings formed of bright snake-kings, of long arms, of cloak of skins, of the graceful stain¹ ravishing the mind, of hands displaying (the gestures denoting the gift of) boons and security, the trident, and the deer, and of the Mountain's Daughter (Umā) who was seen never departing from his lap. [75] Remover of the three classes of distress,² three-eyed, adorned with snakes, sinless, void of ignorance, plastered with bright ash,³ peerless in majesty, He that is above the world appeared to the eye.

[76] With jewelled crown bearing a crescent moon, jewelled ornaments, a face lovely as the moon's orb, a gauze robe like the beams of the new dawn, and the lustre of Her brilliant body combining, the All-blessed Lady (Umā) fair of limb, adorning Her throne that was the lap of the Gracious One, was radiant in stately beauty, so as to put to shame a crore of Ratis.⁴ [77] The Mountain's Daughter appeared to the sight with the radiance of her brilliant flower-like eyes showing like clear moonlight, while the goodly lustre of the jewels in the masses of ornaments worn by her, displaying a magnificence like that of red sunshine, poured itself forth freely in gushing luxuriance over the eight regions of space and the troop of Spell-spirits⁵ lovingly worshipped Her lotus-feet. [78] The Lord of Bhavānī displayed Himself while the brilliant Gāyatrī,⁶ in whom is contained the

¹ The stain on the throat made by the poison swallowed by Śiva in order to save the world.

² These are the troubles caused by oneself (*ādhyātmika*), those caused by external beings (*ādhibhāntika*), and those due to supernatural influences (*ādhidāivika*).

³ Reading *bhāṣita-bhaṣmālēpaṁ* with B; A gives *bhṛita-sita*°.

⁴ Rati is the bride of Kāma, the Love-god.

⁵ *Mantra-dēvatā*, the spirits presiding over the mystic formulae.

⁶ The Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī is the peculiarly holy verse, *Ṛig-vēda*, iii, 62, 10. Here two goddesses have been created out of the two names of the same verse.

whole series of Vēdas, holding in her hand a golden yak-tail fan, zealously waved it, and great Sāvitrī, venerated by the company of Powers, stood there holding a golden spittoon, and a troop of goddesses, Speech and others,¹ joyfully held His jewelled slippers.

Moreover,² Mahēśvara, attended by trooping goblins with widespread festal splendour and great clamour and worshipped by Brahman and Hari with their consorts, was like the heavens, covered with masses of cloud accompanied by spreading lightnings and mighty thunders and always adorned with the Moon and Sun; accompanied by the Mountain's Daughter with Kārttikēya on her lap and brightened by (the presence of) gods radiant with charming power, He was like a park, containing multitudes of trees conspicuous with crowded spreading boughs and brilliant with flowers lustrous from afar with nectarous sap; having His feet covered with many (flowers of) the coral-tree, pure *punnāga* (*Rottleria tinctoria*), and *kudamba* (*Nauclea cudamba*), and (enjoying) the sports performed by Śarabhava (Kārttikēya) bearing a spear, who is peerless in the congregation of the gods, He was like a forest, where the ground is occupied by troops of many lion-broods, bears, and bull-elephants, and where flocks of powerful *śarabhas*³ brilliant with high spirit roam about in abundance; bestowing perfect enjoyment on them who in truth ever seek Him and happy fortune on them who fall at His feet, and attended by bands of redeemed souls whose natural powers are infinite, changeless, and universal, He was like the ocean, bestowing the pleasure of (the company of) Śrī upon Achyuta (Vishṇu) as He sleeps upon the folds of His ever-attendant Serpent, excellent with good waters pervaded throughout by endless mountains, and filled with lines of pearls; though *vishadhara*, bearing (the mark of) poison,⁴ yet He possessed charming (*chira*) radiance [but, unlike a cloud, *vishadhara*, He possessed constant (*chira*) radiance]; though lord of the worlds, *bhuvana-pati*, He was the site of animate matter, *ajādāśraya* [but, unlike the Ocean, *bhuvana-pati*, He was not a receptacle of water, *ajādāśraya*]; though extinguishing the pride of Nara,⁵

¹ Reading with B *poṇḍavakeyaṁ Vāny-ādī-dēvi-samutkaram*; A is senselessly corrupt.

² Here begins the first of a tedious series of passages full of words conveying double meanings. Each epithet has to be translated twice in order to give the twofold sense, or nonsense.

³ A mythical beast with eight legs.

⁴ See above, p. 9, n. 1.

⁵ Reading *Nara-garva-nirvāpakan* with B and A 1; A 2 has *sarvāpahakan*.

[Brahman, and secondarily Arjuna¹], yet He was *arjuna-ruchi*, white of radiance [and secondarily delighting in Arjuna]; though loving *Sāmajapa*, the prayers of the *Sāma-vēda* [and secondarily fond of lordly elephants], yet He was *pañchānana-prathita*, worshipped as five-faced² [and secondarily famous as a lion³]; though *Sadyōjāta*,⁴ yet He was without birth [and secondarily fond of the moon]; though characterized by being bodied of ether [and secondarily by having the person of *Umā* at His left side], yet He had a body radiant in golden hue [and secondarily in native beauty]; though having no enemy born to Him [and secondarily though a foe to *Vishṇu*'s son⁵], yet He was an enemy to the city of countless foes [and secondarily to the cities of the earth's foes⁶]. . . .⁷

Moreover, now, with *Gāyatrī*⁸ and the rest of the supreme Powers standing in a row with their bodies curved in pride, knowing their turns, and with outstretched arms waving pure white yak-tail fans so brilliant as to seem like snakes springing up in eagerness to assail the radiance of the autumnal moon⁹; with *Kalāmālīnī*, her lotus-hands joined together, displaying in graceful clasp to the face of Fortune a jewel-mirror shining like the full moon; with *Rōhīṇī*¹⁰ stirring up a breeze with a fan of flowers, as if to refresh *Kambala* and *Aśvatara*¹¹ when faint and hungry with singing; with the bride of the Sun¹² flashing a swinging light consisting of a jewel-lamp while singing in

¹ Arjuna, who by his pious austerities won the favour of *Śiva*, is the hero of our poem.

² *Śiva* is often worshipped as *Pañcha-mukha*, an image with five faces, and this cult first appears in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, x, 43-7, whence the present punning antithesis to the *Sāma Vēda*. Compare, further, *Gopinatha Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 64, 97 f., 366 f., 375-9, 384, 388, 404.

³ The lion is the natural enemy of the elephant.

⁴ This is the name of one of the five phases of *Śiva* mentioned above. It means "born on the same day", whence the punning antithesis to the two epithets that follow.

⁵ The Love-god, *Kāma*.

⁶ The demons.

⁷ As probably the reader has already had enough of this tedious word-jugglery, I omit the rest of the paragraph and verse 79.

⁸ See above, p. 9, n. 6.

⁹ The moon's spots are supposed to represent a hare, a proper prey for a snake.

¹⁰ The favourite wife of the Moon-god.

¹¹ Two celestial minstrels.

¹² *Sahjānā*, the daughter of *Viśvakarman*.

auspicious strains; with the goddess Fortune offering homage as she bore a radiant pearl parasol like a lotus of a thousand petals held in her hand; with Sarasvatī¹ striking up her music, which conveyed to the ear rich melody of inexhaustible sweetness with an abundance of the soft strains of the *pañchama*² accompanied by the tender sounds of the goodly charming lute; with Varuṇa's wife³ standing gracefully holding a golden jar full of sweet cool fragrant water; with Pulōma's daughter⁴ and other ladies radiant as they held spittoons of rubies; with the damsel Rati⁵ joyfully adorning the soles of His feet with garlands of half-opened flowers exhaling a fragrant scent delighting⁶ a swarm of young black bees which was settling down buzzing in eager desire for the juicy perfume; with the Mother-goddesses⁷ standing in a company holding spears, skulls, swords, axes, and other weapons in their hands; with the Yōginis standing with their lotus-hands laid upon their foreheads, receiving His command; with the Powers of Spells standing in front with summoning cries; with Anasūyā⁸ and other wives of saints chanting blessings; with the Goddesses of Scripture singing hymns of praise in union with fervent sound upon His naturally numerous virtues⁹; with Rambhā¹⁰ and other celestial dancers standing ravishingly as they scattered with flowerlike hands handfuls of flowers amidst the fluttering of golden curtains, as though the very Goddess of Grace stood incarnate in their several forms, and freely displaying a most skilful fourfold dance¹¹ amidst the applause of all the spectators in front of them; with Mukunda¹² appearing in splendour on His left side and reciting the Thousand Names of

¹ The wife of Brahman and goddess of literature and poetry.

² The fifth note of the gamut.

³ Kālīkā.

⁴ Śachi, the wife of Indra.

⁵ The wife of the Love-god, Kāma.

⁶ B here reads *tanigaḷa*; A 1 has *taḷa*, A 2 *taḷu*.

⁷ Namely, Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, and Chāmūḍī.

⁸ The wife of the saint Atri.

⁹ I have translated here rather loosely, and perhaps incorrectly; actually B1 gives *sahaja-saṃdāniya gaṇanam*, while A 1 has *sahaja-saṃdānam āda gaṇanam*, and A 2 *sahaja-sad-gaṇanam*, so that it would seem as if the true reading were *sahaja-saṃdāniya gaṇa-gaṇanam*, as I have rendered.

¹⁰ A beautiful Apsaras and favourite dancer in the court of Indra.

¹¹ B states that these four kinds of dance are *hāva*, *vīhrama*, *bhāva*, and *vīlāsa* (see *Daśa-rūpaka*, 48-51, 61, 63); Kittel's Dictionary divides *nartana* into music, song, gesture, and dance.

¹² Viṣṇu.

Śiva; with the Four-faced One¹ on His right laying down his rules² with ceaseless voice; with the Lotus-born One³ conning the Rudra-sūkta, Rathantara, etc.; with the lords of the regions of space performing their various offices; with exalted ascetics praising Him with excessive tears of joy and intense horripilation, and with clasped hands folded on their brows, having a feeling of choking in their throats owing to the influence of their profound devotion; with the ushers Bhīma and Kankāla uplifting their golden wands, and with cries of "ho, halt! approach! go! stand aside!" repressing the excessive clamour of the crowd of gods, Siddhas, Sādhyas, Gandharvas, and others in their banded throngs, and stationing them in their proper places; with Nandikēśvara announcing the proper offices, coming in due time and wearing with grace his earrings; with the lordly Bull standing in equanimity, an incarnation of the Good Law; with the saint Bhṛīṅgi in strange apparel of many kinds merrily dancing, displaying contortions, and arousing laughter; with impassioned Garuḍas, Gandharvas, and celestial musicians singing in concert; with the Vira-pramathas⁴ duly standing together in their ranks; with crowds of gods standing massed together in densely serried rows—the magnificent Supreme Court displayed itself as possessing infinite wondrousness, perfect beauty, intense loveliness, and utterly unprecedented charm, a thing inconceivable of comprehension.

Moreover—

[80] Singing Kinnaras,⁵ merrily dancing Apsarases,⁶ Chanda-kīrtis⁷ coming forward and singing, ascetics fittingly renouncing the flesh at His feet with cries of "hurrah! victory!" and lords of the ageless [gods] joyfully bowing before the priceless Blessed Being and offering gifts, displayed themselves delightfully in the palace of the Trident-bearer. . . .⁸

¹ Brahman.

² This also means "holding a crane"; the swan or crane is the vehicle of Brahman.

³ Another title of Brahman; here, however, the two titles are made into two distinct deities.

⁴ Goblins attached to the service of Śiva.

⁵ A class of demigods represented with the heads of horses.

⁶ Celestial dancing-women and courtesans.

⁷ A class of familiar spirits attendant on Śiva.

⁸ I have omitted another long passage of prose and verse 81, which are full of tiresome and uninteresting word-jugglery.

And here, while the loveliness of His body, which was most charming, incomparably splendid, having a brilliance surpassing ten million times gold refined in the fire, abounding and on all sides multiplying, was displaying itself; while the elephant-hide [worn by Him] was radiant like a glistening golden robe; while the brilliant plaster with which He was smeared¹ shone like the unguent of Kashmir²; while His rings of jewel-studded serpents showed lovely as ear-jewels of glittering gold; while the ornament consisting of a festoon of skulls worn by Him glistened like an ornament of shining gold; while the poison in His neck, combining with the scent natural to His body, glittered³ like a streak of musk worn by Him; while the eye of fire gleaming on His brow, on which rested a spirit of calm, appeared like a forehead-ornament of red ochre; while the skull [held by Him], enveloped in the ruddy hue of the red lotus of His hand, shone assuming the exact semblance of a bowl of rubies; radiant with brilliant indivisible supreme authority, convincing the mind that in Him alone resides the proper characteristics of supreme felicity, unique in their manifestation, by which He rules unfailingly the three worlds; a mine of the series of gems of all auspicious qualities; a skilful artist in creating the sections of the casket of the universe; exalted above the influence of the three Modes⁴; a jewel-ornament on the hair-parting of the lady who is the Triad of Vēdas; a home of sport of unsurpassable auspicious arts; making the sprout of the universe blossom forth on the creeping-plant of His Powers⁵; a noble swan⁶ on the lotus of the Ōm; having His pure body void of birth, age, pain, and death; the great Physician who dispels the maladies of bodied life from His worshippers; the celestial tree for the desires of votaries; devoid of beginning and end; free from ignorance; omniscient; eternally satisfied; independent; possessed of unfailing and unending Powers; unique in majesty; giver of enjoyment and salvation; composed of infinite Being, Thought, and Bliss;

¹ The burnt cow-dung with which Śiva and His votaries are smeared.

² Saffron paste.

³ Reading *moreyeyum* with A 1; A 2 has *moreyūm*, B *moreyeyum*.

⁴ The three *Guṇas* or principles of material Nature.

⁵ The empirical universe arises from the Supreme Śiva by the agency of His Powers or Śaktis.

⁶ *Parama-hansa*, besides meaning this, is also the title of a class of saint. The syllable *ōm*, or the *pranava*, as the primal revelation of the Supreme, is the essence of all mystic knowledge, and of the universe itself.

dwelling in the secret place of all beings' hearts; transcending speech and thought; superior to all; worshipped by all; accompanied by Umā; like a bud of salvation, like a seed of spirit, like the essence of truth, like the site of eternity, like an ocean of bliss, like the supreme bound of perfection, like a sea of grace, like the majesty of righteousness, like a bound of loveliness, like the greatness of blessedness, like a fulness of brilliance, like a treasure of peace, emperor of all deities, unbounded in majesty, unique, did He appear.

Moreover—

[82] Now fondling Kumāra, now gazing in a rapture of tenderness at the face of Aparṇā,¹ now showing courtesy to the noble goblins, now listening to the sounds of the goddesses as they sang, now warmly applauding the new dance performed by brilliant Rambhā,² appeared He whose ornaments are the serpents. [83] "Withdraw, Nirṛiti³! push not, O Wind! duly present thine offering, Lord of Wealth! be still, Death! babble not, Lord of the World⁴! Pāka's Foe,⁵ come and do reverence! Mādhava,⁶ sit down here! Beloved of the Lotus-lake,⁷ make room for the Lord of Night⁸!"—with these words did Mākāla⁹ there chide them together at that time. [84] The Wind ceaselessly with joy presented as offering sweet scents, the Prince of Snakes piles of gems, the Ocean rows of noble pearls, the Giver of Fortune¹⁰ a vast mass of gold, the Lotus-born¹¹ fittingly a quantity of new treasures, the Chieftain of the Celestials¹² rows of garlands of the *mandāra* tree, bowed before His feet, and joyfully sang his lauds. [85] Śāṅkara revealed Himself, His feet brightly illumined by the lustre of the jewels studding the tremulously radiant diadems of Lady Fortune's Lover,¹³ the Lotus-born,¹⁴ Jambha's Foe,¹⁵ and other gods—a mine of compassion, a foundation of inconceivable majesty, embodied of the Supreme Light, crowned with the beauty of the Moon's digit.

¹ A title of Umā or Pārvatī; see *Kumāra-sambhava*, v. 28.

² See above, p. 12, n. 10.

³ The malignant goddess presiding over the south-western quarter.

⁴ Brahman, who is conceived as always reciting the Vēda.

⁵ Indra.

⁶ Viṣṇu.

⁷ The Sun.

⁸ The Moon.

⁹ Mahākāla, a demon attendant on Śiva.

¹⁰ The god Kuberā.

¹¹ Brahman.

¹² Indra.

¹³ Viṣṇu.

¹⁴ Brahman.

¹⁵ Indra.

NOTES ON THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT AT SIANFU

By LIONEL GILES, M.A., D.Litt.

(Continued.)

DR. JOHN STEELE has very kindly sent me some criticisms on the Notes which I contributed to the first number of the *Bulletin*, and I propose to deal with these before proceeding further.

15. Dr. Steele thinks that "although Taoist phraseology is introduced into the Inscription, it is always in a polemical spirit, and not with a desire for syncretism. If that is so, then 真寂 would mean 'the true impassive (One)', asserting this against the 無爲 predicated of Tao". And he adds that the same remark would also apply to 靈虛.

This is a suggestion worth considering. But on p. 25, as we shall see, 真 is undoubtedly used in the Taoist sense of spiritual purity.

17. "I should retain the reference to the Christian symbol . . . It seems to me that in the spirit of Taoism the Nestorians regarded the Cross as an elemental symbol which entered into the evolution of the Cosmos."

I presume, then, that Dr. Steele would substitute the word "Cross" for "figure of ten" in the translation. To this there is no particular objection except that, as I pointed out, the true significance of the Cross is purposely obscured throughout the inscription.

18. 匠成萬物、然立初人

"It is not possible to establish a parallelism between the two parts of this sentence, 成 and 立 not corresponding. This makes your suggested reading for 然 unnecessary. Moreover, 然 corresponds syntactically with the various occurrences of 而 in the neighbouring passages."

I confess I cannot follow Dr. Steele here. There seems to me to be perfect correspondence between 成 "created" and 立 "set up". And surely my critic cannot have studied the formation of the four preceding clauses. Each consists, not of eight, but of seven characters, and they fall naturally into two pairs, each of

which is perfectly symmetrical within itself. To extend the parallelism further, so as to include our present sentence, would entirely spoil the balance of the whole.

19, 20. 閒平大於此是之中
隙冥同於彼非之內

"There seems to me to be nothing abstruse in this couplet. Its first line sums up what precedes, and its second is explained in what follows—

Repose and peace abounded in this (state of moral) good ;
Schism and obscurity consorted in that (state of moral) evil."

The simplicity of this new rendering is certainly very attractive at first sight, but I am not sure that it will stand the test of closer examination. Reading the context, I cannot but feel that the first clause of the sentence so construed comes awkwardly at a point when the writer has just begun to describe the wiles of Satan. Secondly, the rather forced translation of 閒 as "repose" destroys the obvious similarity of meaning between that character and 隙. Moreover, the phrase 閒平 would seem to be unknown to Chinese literature, as it is not given in the *P'ei Wen Yün Fu*. The meaning assigned to 同 is also, I think, open to objection. On the other hand, 隙 "schism" is certainly supported by the mention of the 365 sects in the next sentence. Dr. Steele thinks that my translation would require 其 instead of 彼, if Satan is regarded as the agent. But 彼 is used as the recognized "opposite" (對) to 此, and refers generally to the state of sin existing among the fallen angels in hell.

* * * * *

20. 競織法羅 "Rivalling one another in weaving the web of false doctrines."

The word 法 may have been chosen, as Havret thinks, in order to convey an indirect censure on Buddhism ; but elsewhere it is repeatedly used in the sense either of religion in general (p. 42, 法非景不行) or more specifically of the Christian religion (p. 40, 永輝法界 ; p. 44, 大法主 ; 法流十道 ; pp. 71, 78, 法主, which was apparently the recognized title of the Patriarch of the Assyrian Church¹). In any case, "laws" is not a good equivalent.

¹ See *Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, p. 85, n. 4.

Legge: "striving to weave the nets of their several ways."

Havret: "tissant à l'envi les filets de leurs lois."

Moule: "vying with one another in weaving the web of doctrines."

Saeki: "they strove to weave nets of the laws wherewith to ensnare the innocent."

20, 21. 或指物以託宗 "One sect pretended that Matter was the ultimate principle of the universe."

託=假託. Thus we have the common phrase 託名 "to give a false name". I am inclined to think that 宗 does not mean "an object of worship" here, but is to be taken as equivalent to 宗原. Havret's translation is not in accord with his note, in which he approves the explanation of P. Diaz: 尊之若主. He goes on to say that Taoism is principally aimed at in this passage; but I would refer it rather to sceptics of the type of 王充 Wang Ch'ung. The teachings of Lao Tzū, at any rate, were anything but materialistic.

Legge: "Some set up (material) things as the objects of their worship."

Havret: "Les uns, désignant les créatures, s'appuyaient sur elles comme sur leur principe."

Moule: "Some, pointing to created things, have trusted to them as their Lord."

H. A. Giles: "Some of these took material objects as their gods."

Saeki: "Some, pointing to natural objects, pretended that they were the right objects to worship."

21. 或空有以淪二 "Another divested Being of its reality, thus obliterating the duality of Nature."

These words have generally been understood as directed against the Buddhist doctrine of *Māyā* or Cosmic Illusion, but 淪二 seems to point rather to the Taoist doctrine of the Identity of Contraries as propounded by Chuang Tzū, the logical consequence of which is that the distinction between good and evil disappears, so that no place remains for the Christian conception of God as the Supreme Principle of Goodness. We must refer back to p. 17: 鼓元風而生二氣 "(God) stirred the primordial ether (or Chaos, known to the Chinese as 渾淪) and produced the dual forces of Nature". The expression 淪二 will therefore simply denote a reversion to Chaos—in a moral rather than

a physical sense. Havret's interpretation of 二 as heterodoxy or superstition is a little too far-fetched to carry conviction. Though the ordinary meaning of 淪 is "to sink" or "be submerged", it should be noted that the verbs 託, 邀, and 矯 in the corresponding clauses are all transitive.

Legge: "some insisted on empty space without the (ethereal) duality."

Havret: "les autres, supprimant la réalité de l'Être, se plongeaient dans la superstition."

Moule: "some have been plunged in error by denying the reality of existence."

H. A. Giles: "others maintained the illusory nature of all things, and were swept into devious paths."

Saeki: "others denied the reality of existence, and insisted on ignoring the duality."

或禱祀以邀福 "One resorted to prayers and sacrifices in order to procure happiness."

This cannot be said to apply to Confucianism pure and simple (see Havret's note), but only to ancestor-worship.

或代善以矯人 "Another made a parade of virtue in order to impose on mankind."

A rather ungenerous sneer at the Confucianists with their lofty moral code. Unfortunately, as Diaz carefully explains later on, the Roman Catholic Church recognizes no merit in virtue that is not founded on faith. And Protestantism in this particular is equally stern and unbending (see Nos. 11 and 13 of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion).

21, 22. 智慮營營、恩情役役
茫然無得、煎迫轉燒

"But all their restless activity of mind and heart was thrown away and they achieved nothing, being consumed by their own feverish zeal."

Diaz is the only commentator who seems to have understood the reflexive force of 轉. His paraphrase, 其心煎迫轉相燒害, is wrongly translated by Havret: "Excités par la chaleur de leurs passions, ils se portaient mutuellement de cuisantes blessures." 相 does not mean "mutually", but simply emphasizes the action of the verb on the object (i.e. "themselves", understood). Sectarian strife, or persecution, is not hinted at here; and, indeed,

China has a much better record to show in that respect than Christian Europe. We find 焦迫, but not 煎迫, in the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu*; the meaning, however, must be much the same. The phrase indicates the anxiety of each sect to propagate its own creed.

Wylie: "Their intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move; they never obtained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere."

Legge: "With their wisdom they anxiously tasked themselves, labouring with their fondest feelings; but all in vain. The heat of their distress was turned into a scorching flame."

Havret: "Les pensées de la sagesse (humaine) étant en travail incessant, les passions du cœur (des partis) sans cesse en mouvement, dans cette activité fébrile qui restait sans effet, poussé à bout par ces soucis dévorants, et même consumé . . ."

Moule: "The thoughts of wisdom never rested, the passions of the heart were ever in motion. Wearied without attaining, driven on by the heat (of their passions) men were burnt the more."

H. A. Giles: "Wise concern for the future was lost in the confusion; all feelings were worn out; and all was vague without attainment. The fire that oppressed men became a scorching flame."

Saeki: "(Thus) the intellect and the thoughts of men fell into hopeless confusion; and their mind and affections began to toil incessantly; but all their travail was in vain. The heat of their distress became a scorching flame."

22. 積昧亡途、久迷休復 "The darkness was intensified and they lost their way, and after long perplexity gave up all thought of returning to the true path."

This is a very vexed passage, and it may be said at once that Havret makes out a good case for his new interpretation. 休復 certainly has the sense of "happy return" in the *I Ching*, 復 diagram. On the other hand, 亡 can hardly bear any other meaning here than its original one of "lose", while 昧 and 迷 are very awkward if regarded as transitive verbs. I therefore think that 休 must mean "renounce" or "reject", as in the common phrases 休致, 休妻. There is no authority for taking it as a simple negative, except with a verb in the imperative mood.

Legge: "They made the darkness greater and lost their way; and after going long astray, they ceased any further search (for the truth)."

Havret: "On accumulait les ténèbres dans cette voie de la perdition, et l'on éternisait cet éloignement du retour vers le bien."

Moule: "They gradually darkened the road of perdition, and prolonged their wandering from the happy (road of) return."

H. A. Giles: "Amid the encircling gloom they lost their way; and after long wandering they failed to return."

Saeki: "Self-blinded, they increased the darkness still more; and losing their path for a long while they went astray and became unable to return home again."

三 一 分 身 "The Second Person of the Trinity."

The controversy that raged round these words for many years was finally laid in 1912 by the publication of *Le Traité Manichéen*, where it was conclusively shown that 分 must be a participle and not a transitive verb. My only object now is to do justice to the unduly neglected commentary of P. Diaz, in which the correct interpretation is given: 三 一 分 身 者 乃 天 主 第 二 位 也

24, 25. 設 三 一 淨 風 無 言 之 新 教 "He founded the new religion of the Triune Holy Ghost, which does not deal in words."

The author of the inscription may have been thinking of the *Tao Tê Ching*, 2: 行 不 言 之 教 "The Sage conveys instruction without words"; or 43: 不 言 之 教, 無 爲 之 益, 天 下 希 及 之 "Conveying lessons without words, reaping profit without action—there are few in the world who can attain to this". The sentiment is not altogether appropriate to Christianity, though a somewhat feeble justification has been found for it in 1 Cor. ii, 13: "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Havret and others have mistaken the meaning of 無 言. I base my rendering on Diaz, who says: 其 教 弗 係 于 口, 弗 希 多 言, 特 貴 善 行 也 "It is not a religion of the lips, nor does it value many words, but only sets store by virtuous conduct".

Legge: "He appointed His new doctrines, operating without words by the cleansing influence of the Triune."

Havret: "Il fonda la nouvelle religion que la Trine unité, Esprit très pur, n'exprime pas au moyen de paroles."

Moule: "He founded the new teaching, unexpressed in words, of the most pure Spirit of the Triune."

H. A. Giles: "He established the new doctrine, which cannot be expressed in words, of the Triune Holy Ghost."

Saeki: "Establishing His New Teaching of Non-assertion which operates silently through the Holy Spirit."

25. 制八境之度、鍊塵成眞 "He set up the standard of the Eight Moral Conditions, purged the world of sensuality and made it pure."

八境 is one of the many recondite expressions affected by the author of the Inscription. That it denotes the Eight Beatitudes (Matt. v, 3-10) is practically certain. Diaz has no doubt on the subject; and it is surprising to find Legge attributing this "discovery" to a native convert of his own day. The Chinese are fond of numerical categories, and the writer may have wished to provide a Christian counterpoise to the "Noble Eightfold Path" of Buddhism. It may be added that the phrase 八境 does occur in a poem of Su Tung-p'o, but not with the figurative sense required in this passage. Note that 眞 must again be used in the Taoist sense of "purity" as opposed to 塵 "defilement".

Legge: "He defined the measures of the eight (moral) conditions, purging away the dust (of defilement) and perfecting the truth (in men)."

Havret: "Il institua les règles des huit fins, pour purifier les facultés et perfectionner les saints."

Moule: "He laid down the rule of the eight conditions, cleansing from the defilement of sense and making (men) saints."

H. A. Giles: "He enunciated the Eight States, that worldliness might be refined away, and purity achieved."

Saeki: "Setting up the standard of the eight cardinal virtues, He purged away the dust from human nature and perfected a true character."

啓三常之門 "He threw open the portals of the Three Virtues."

In view of the meaning of 五常, it is hardly possible to doubt that 三常 indicates the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. This is the interpretation adopted by Diaz, and generally followed by subsequent translators. 三常 occurs also

in the Manichæan treatise, and is translated by Messrs. Chavannes and Pelliot "les trois permanences" (p. 56), these referring probably to the three essential attributes of the Almighty, namely, his Light, his Strength, and his Goodness. Each sect, of course, would apply the term in the way best suited to its own particular doctrine. Professor Giles has found a passage in the History of the Northern Chou dynasty, where it means "three constant practices: (1) the appointment of wise men by the sovereign, (2) the reliance on wise men by the officials, and (3) the respect for wise men by the people".¹ But to introduce this purely political wisdom into an exposition of Christian doctrine would surely be the height of incongruity. Professor Saeki goes still further astray, for he mistranslates the sentence "widely opening the three constant Gates", and proceeds to identify these imaginary Gates with the Sanskrit *Trividha Dvara*, i.e. purity of body, speech, and thought.

26. 懸景日以破暗府魔妄於是乎悉摧 "He suspended a luminous sun, irradiating the abode of darkness; and lo! the machinations of the Devil were defeated."

It is really impossible to give a satisfactory translation of the above, for the simple reason that the Chinese is made purposely vague and indefinite. The writer wished to hint at the Crucifixion without committing himself to crude statements of fact which might startle the uninitiated; and the plasticity of the Chinese language enabled him to accomplish the feat successfully. The objections to translating, with Professor Giles, "He was hung up like a luminous sun," are (1) that the construction is extremely awkward. It is safe to say that such a rendering of the words would never occur to any one unacquainted with the Gospel story; (2) it destroys the parallelism with 棹慈航, which certainly cannot mean "He was rowed like a boat of mercy"; (3) it is inconsistent with the aim of the Nestorian missionaries, who did their best to conceal Christ's death on the Cross, if not from their own converts, at any rate from the people at large. Diaz has the following commentary: "*Ching jih*, a sun large and bright, means the Sun of Our Lord during His Passion. After Our Lord's death, His Holy Spirit was parted from His body, being bright and refulgent like the sun. The urgent task of

¹ *Adversaria Sinica*, ii, p. 55.

redeeming the world having been completed, He became as it were a sun, both shining and great. *An fu*, the abode, in the underworld, of the holy men of antiquity. When Our Lord had undergone suffering and death, His Holy Spirit descended to this abode of the Saints, its darkness being now irradiated with light." The meaning, of course, is largely symbolical, as in John i, 5 and xii, 46, though there was an old tradition, Mr. Moule tells me, which was doubtless known to the Nestorians, that a visible light shone from the Cross. 暗府 is "limbo", and not hell in the strict sense. Diaz explains that there are four distinct cavities (四重大路) lying like strata one above the other. The lowest of these is "hell", the place of eternal punishment for devils and the souls of the damned. The next in order is purgatory, where members of the Church Patient are purified of their sins until they are fit to enter Heaven. In the two upper cavities there is neither joy nor suffering. The lower of these two is reserved for unbaptized infants who, being still infected with original sin, can never enter Heaven; the other was the temporary abode of the Patriarchs and other holy men of the Old Testament until they were released by the coming of Jesus Christ. This last is the 暗府 of our text.

悼慈航以登明宮含靈於是乎既濟 "He rowed the Bark of Mercy, conveying its occupants up to the Palace of Light; and lo! the souls of the departed were brought across to salvation."

It is evident that 登 must be a transitive verb, as Diaz takes it, for the actual Ascension is described in the next sentence. Yet nearly all the translators have gone wrong here. 含靈 are the souls in limbo, not, as Legge says, "all intelligent beings"; and 明宮 is the Holy City or New Jerusalem, which "had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it" (Rev. xxi, 23).

Legge: "The vessel of mercy was set in motion to convey men to the palace of light, and thereby all intelligent beings were conveyed across (the intervening space)."

Havret: "Conduisant à la rame la barque de la miséricorde, il s'éleva aux demeures lumineuses; dès lors quiconque possède une âme a trouvé son salut."

Moule: "He moved the boat of mercy, that He might go up

on to the shores of the palaces of light: all who have souls then found means of salvation."

H. A. Giles: "He rowed the boat of mercy, in order to reach the bright palace; and in it souls are conveyed thither."

Saeki: "He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light. Thereby all rational beings were conveyed across the Gulf."

27. 亭午昇真 "Ascended at full noon to the Domain of Purity."

This is a phrase of Taoist origin. Cf. 白日昇天 (or 昇仙), which occurs several times in the 列仙傳. Mr. Moule translates very well: "He ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere." There is no mention of the Resurrection on the Tablet, a necessary consequence of the silence concerning the Crucifixion.

Legge: "At noonday He ascended to His true (place)."

Havret: "Il monta en plein midi, homme deifié."

H. A. Giles: "He ascended to heaven at noon of the day."

Saeki: "He returned at noon to His original position (in Heaven)."

28. 印持十字融四炤以合無拘 "As their seal of office they bear the Figure-of-Ten, which diffuses its influence wherever the sun shines and unites all without distinction."

Another most artfully worded sentence, which should be compared with the one already discussed on p. 17. The word 印 has much puzzled the commentators. In itself it does not mean a symbol or badge, and yet that is obviously the sense required here. I think that a comparison must be intended between the minister of Christ who carries the Cross on his person and the Chinese magistrate whose official seal is the outward token of his authority. The *P'ei Wén Yün Fu* gives two examples of the phrase 持印, both from inscribed tablets. The seal also forms the subject of a simile in *Un Traité Manichéen*, p. 563: 其怜愍者 . . . 如國王印璽所印之處无不遵奉 "Pity . . . is like unto a king's royal seal, which wherever it is affixed ensures universal obedience". Diaz seems to think that the Cross was actually used as a seal, and takes 印 as a verb co-ordinate with 持: 恆印恆持十字. I do not know whether there is any evidence to support this view

四 炤 (another form of 照) is one of the numerous synonyms of 四方, the four cardinal points, others being 四合, 四下, 四極, 四相, 四至, 四處, and 四邊. A rather curious example of its use occurs in the *Shan Hai Ching*: 招搖之山有木焉、其狀如穀而黑理、其華四照、其名曰迷穀、佩之不迷 "On the Chao-yao Mountains there is a shrub which is like a cereal in appearance, but has black markings, and the petals of its flowers are turned towards the four points of the compass. It is called *mi-ku* (stray-corn), because he who carries it with him cannot go astray".

Legge: "(His ministers) bearing with them the seal of the Cross, diffuse a harmonizing influence wherever the sun shines, and unite all together without distinction."

Havret: "Le signe de la croix que l'on tient comme sceau, éclaire les quatre points cardinaux, qui sont ainsi unis sans exception."

Moule: "The figure of ten, which is held as a badge, enlightens the four quarters so as to unite (all) without exception."

Saeki: "(His ministers) carry the Cross with them as a Sign. They travel about wherever the sun shines, and try to re-unite those that are beyond the pale."

29, 30. 不畜臧獲均貴賤於人
不聚貨財示罄遺於我

"They keep no slaves, male or female, but hold all men, whether of high or humble station, in equal esteem. They amass no property or wealth, but set an example of poverty and renunciation in their own persons."

The parallelism between these two clauses is very precise, which makes it all the more astonishing that they should have been so badly translated. Havret was the first to bring out the antithesis between 人 and 我, quite common in Chinese, which Legge so unaccountably failed to perceive. On the other hand, he mistranslates both 臧獲 and 罄遺.

Legge: "They do not keep or maltreat slaves, male or female. They make no distinction between noble and mean among men. They do not accumulate property or wealth, but give all they have to our (communities)."

Havret: "Ils n'entretiennent pas d'esclaves ni de captifs, faisant le même cas de la noblesse et de [vilitem] parmi les

hommes; ils n'amassent ni trésors ni richesses, montrant en eux-mêmes l'exemple du dévouement et de la générosité."

Moule: "They do not keep slaves or captives, making no distinctions of rank among men; they do not amass goods and wealth, displaying devotion and generosity amongst themselves."

Saeki: "They keep neither male nor female slaves. Putting all men on an equality, they make no distinction between the noble and the mean. They neither accumulate property nor wealth; but giving all they possess, they set a good example to others."

30. 齋以伏識而成
戒以靜慎爲固

"Their purity of heart is perfected by seclusion and meditation; their self-discipline is strengthened by silence and introspection."

齋 and 戒 go closely with 成 and 固 respectively, and are therefore best taken as nouns indicating a state of mind or moral condition. The primary meaning of 齋 is 齊一心志 "reducing the will to a uniform simplicity". This process was found to be facilitated by abstention from animal food, and thus the word acquired its narrower sense of "fasting", which is not applicable here. Diaz is clearly wrong in making 戒 equal to 識, and seeing an allusion to the Ten Commandments. Professor Saeki seems to understand the word in a similar sense, though his translation is far from clear. The 辭源 says: 湛然純一之謂齋、肅然警惕之謂戒 "Transparent purity and simplicity is called *chai*, reverent circumspection and vigilance is called *chieh*". 伏 cannot be a verb, as Legge takes it, for several reasons: (1) it spoils the parallelism of the sentence; (2) it yields but poor sense; and (3) "to subdue knowledge" is a very un-Chinese expression. 識 (read *chih**) is interchangeable with 誌, meaning "to impress upon one's mind". Cf. 論語, xv, 2, 多學而識之 "to learn much and meditate on it"; vii, 2, 默而識之 "the silent treasuring up of knowledge". For 愼 cf. 中庸, i, 3, 君子愼其獨也 "The higher type of man is watchful over himself when he is alone".

Legge: "They fast to subdue (the pride of) knowledge and become perfect; they keep the vigil of stillness and watchfulness to maintain (their minds) firm."

Havret: "La purification s'obtient par la retraite et le recueillement; la circonspection tire sa fermeté du silence et de la vigilance."

Moule: "Purification is perfected by seclusion and meditation; self-restraint grows strong by silence and watching."

Saeki: "They observe fasting in order that they may subdue 'the knowledge' (which defiles the mind). They keep the vigil of silence and watchfulness so that they may observe 'the Precepts'."

31. 異常之道妙而難名

功用昭彰強稱景教

"Mystic and hard to name is the pure and eternal Way; but its merits shine forth so brilliantly in operation that we call it perforce the Luminous Religion."

Plagiarism here reaches a pitch which can only be styled effrontery. The sentence has been cleverly compounded from several passages in the *Tao Tê Ching*, which incidentally throw some light on the meaning. All previous translators have taken 真 in the sense of "true"; and Dr. Steele would presumably translate 異常 as "the truly eternal". But if 常然真寂 on p. 15 is "eternally pure and still", it seems more probable that 異常, applied to the Christian *Tao*, means "pure and eternal". Cf. *T.T.C.*, ch. xxi, where we read that 其精甚真 "the spiritual essence (of *Tao*) is exceedingly pure"—for you cannot very well say that an essence is *true*. 常道 occurs, of course, in the opening sentence of ch. i, where it is opposed to "the *Tao* that can be expressed in words". The general idea is taken from ch. xxv: 吾不知其名、字之曰道、強爲之名曰大 "Its name I know not. To designate it, I call it *Tao*. Making an effort to describe it, I call it Great". (景, by the way, also means "great".) Cf. also ch. xxxii (道常無名) and ch. xv. Finally, in ch. xxxv it is said of *Tao*: 用之不足既 "In its use it is inexhaustible".

Legge: "This true and unchanging system of doctrine is mysterious and difficult to name. To display its manifest operation, we make an effort and call it the Illustrious Religion."

Havret: "La Doctrine vraie et constante est admirable, et dès lors difficile à définir; ses mérites resplendissant par sa pratique, nous sommes contraints de la nommer la Religion illustre."

Moule: "The true and eternal doctrine is wonderful and hard to name. Since its merits and use are manifest and brilliant, we are forced to call it the Illustrious Religion."

Saeki: "This ever True and Unchanging *Way* is mysterious, and is almost impossible to name. But its meritorious operations are so brilliantly manifested that we make an effort and call it by the name of 'The Luminous Religion'."

31, 32. 道非聖不弘
聖非道不大

"The True Doctrine without an inspired Sovereign will not spread far; an inspired Sovereign without the True Doctrine will never become great."

According to Professor Saeki, "these are perhaps the most difficult expressions in the whole inscription"; but the grounds for this assertion are not at all clear. The construction is of the simplest, and the only possible stumbling-block is the rendering of 聖. Diaz rightly refers it to the Ruler (國主), and he is followed by Legge as well as by Professor Saeki himself (in his note). Havret, on the other hand, simply translates the word "sage", while Mr. Moule introduces the somewhat misleading term "prophet". The passage is really nothing more than a delicate piece of flattery leading up to a recital of the favours bestowed on the new religion by successive Chinese emperors.

(To be concluded.)

HAUSA SPEECH, ITS WIT AND WISDOM

Lecture delivered at the School by J. WITHERS GILL, Lecturer in Hausa, on December 5th, 1917

READERS of the *Arabian Nights*, *The Assemblies* of El Hariri, and contemporaneous Oriental literature of a similar stamp, become familiar with a type of humanity characteristic of the locality and epoch in which those romances of Eastern life are laid. This characteristic type is a combination of merchant and divine, who is a great traveller and purveyor of news. He is always dignified, a gossip and a busybody in a gentlemanly way, and distinguished no less for his punctilious performance of all the external observances of the creed of Islam than for his assiduity in his commercial operations. To my mind residence in the country occupied by the Hausa people cannot fail to prompt the thought that between this typical personality and the average man of Hausaland there is a striking kinship in character, if not in race.

The historical antiquity of the Western Sudan to which Hausaland belongs geographically is well known. Its records can be found in the pages of Arab historians. Hoary tradition amplifies the written records of its long and turbulent past, in the course of which its varied populations, nomad and settled, have been shifted by unceasing warfare and inundated by the waves of Muslim conquest, the last ripple of which extended to the southern confines of the land now peopled by men of Hausa origin. In the eleventh century occurred the first invasion of Arab adventurers from Egypt via Darfur and Bornu, and from this event dates the Islamizing of the country. For centuries the influence and intellect of the East have slowly filtered in, and the country owes all its law and its learning to proselytizing Islam. It is impossible to hold a low estimation of the organized plan of government or of the high industrial, fiscal, and legal systems current in Hausaland. Much of this organization is doubtless due to the dominating influence of the Filani, who became the governing class in each Hausa State some hundred years before the British occupation. Their influence, however, was more in

the guise of spiritual leaders forming an exclusive aristocracy than that of political leaders rallying a nation. The Fulah of hybrid Levantine origin, with facial characteristics, customs, and beliefs of a Semitic type, had neither part nor lot with the negroid Hausa of African origin; and he left the Hausa industrial system much as he found it, confining himself to conquest and administration. With him also came the bravery, the discipline, the cultivated mind of the Orient as well as the institution of slavery. Apart from the governing element the bulk of the Filani people are nomadic cattle-owners: and nomads neither make history nor can they impose their language upon settled peoples.

In this environment the Hausas represented the commercial classes; the producers and distributors; the artisans, the farmers, and the merchants. The typical Hausa is a persistent traveller and tradesman, the chief medium of the commercial life of that part of the Sudan which stretches from Tripoli to the Gold Coast. When Britain herself was emerging from the tribal stage Kano, the leading Hausa city, was a celebrated entrepôt for merchandise from north, south, east, and west, and the historical centre of the industrial life of the Western Sudan. This position still endures under the changes incidental to modern progress by which the outlet of trade has been shifted from north to south, as the animal transport of the tenth century has been replaced by the railway and motor transport of the twentieth century. Just as in the past the Hausa was the middleman in the distribution of the country's products and the industrial requirements it imported from adjacent territories, so the present economic advance which is bringing European commerce to Nigeria is in the hands of the Hausas also.

By the impetus of trade the Hausa has imposed, and still continues to impose, his language, and often also his creed, on the inhabitants of unislamized districts with whom he comes into contact. In a marked degree he is a pioneer of the modern European idea of civilization, for his influence becomes a solvent of racial prejudice; knowledge spreads; new ideas—religious, social and domestic—ferment; and that kind of material progress which clears the road for the later development of moral and intellectual progress becomes a possibility. Since the British occupation of Hausaland one of the most elementary acts of policy towards the pagan tribes of Nigeria has been to open and

maintain in safety trade routes for the Hausa merchant. By this method the first practical step is taken towards widening the horizon of communities so permeated with savagery, fetishism, and tribal isolation that I may borrow Sir Alfred Lyall's apt and picturesque description of similar tribes in India and describe them as "pot-bound" communities.

If this be the position occupied by the Hausa inhabitant of Sudanese Africa it follows that the language of these people is well worthy of study, not so much from the academic point of view of the comparative study of the cognate tongues of Northern and Western Africa, but mainly because the work of the political or military officer in Nigeria will certainly be unproductive without a knowledge of the *lingua franca* of a country which our Sessional Calendar correctly describes as "one of the richest and most cultivated languages in Africa". Indeed, not to know the language of Hausaland emphatically disqualifies all Government officials there for any real or lasting work. Similar ignorance on the part of the trader is also a practical disability. Still more is this the case since the recognition in official schemes of native education that the *lingua franca* of the country—the tongue in which the inhabitants think—is not to be displaced by English. This piece of far-sighted statesmanship, born probably of our experience in India, is the more striking as statesmanship with regard to the governing of the coloured races of Africa has in the past been sadly to seek. If there is one thing more than another that makes alien administration bearable to the indigenous proletariat and maintains a healthy, national aspiration among them, it is the fostering of their language, and such literature as it possesses, by the governing class; and the conduct of administration in a tongue that fits in with native ways of thought and native modes of expression. Successful administration by an alien whose thoughts, morals, and motives move on a different plane from the peoples he rules is built, not on the personal ideas of the administrator, but on his knowledge of the nature of the humans he is called upon to govern. He must think Hausa before he can rule Hausas and reach the acme of his profession that "what is best administered is best". Before he can think Hausa, however, he must learn to speak Hausa. That is, he must get outside the associations and implications of his own Western language and bring himself within the limitations of native

mentality. He must abolish the laconisms of Western speech in favour of the circumlocution dear to the oriental mind.

With this brief demonstration of the geographical distribution and practical value of the Hausa language let me pass on to its special characteristics. In the classification of languages Hausa belongs to the Hamitic group, that group of African languages which we call Libyo-Sudanian, which includes Berber and the tongues of the negroid races of the Western Sudan.

Studying the real life of the language in the only way it can be studied, namely, from its colloquial forms, Hausa is negroid in character with all the structural characteristics of primitive languages strongly in evidence. It has a copious vocabulary—copious not in the sense that there is much that is superfluous—and in spite of the centuries old internecine warfare and rivalry just alluded to, has maintained its individuality. Neither conquest nor immigration has had more effect upon it than to add some specialized word to its vocabulary. As the horizon became enlarged and life more complex, words were borrowed and incorporated, but the structure of the language did not change. The Fulah domination left the language intact, and the Arabic importations redress the poverty of its vocabulary with terms of precision which concern law, religion, and the operations of the market. In this respect it is in strong contrast to the overwhelming influence of Hausa over pagan dialects which it practically submerges, and is further evidence of the strength, utility, and endurance of the Hausa speech.

Very little need be said on the subject of the so-called Hausa literature. Strictly speaking, it does not exist save in a few religious songs of comparatively late origin which show strong Arabic influences. In these manuscripts the Arabic alphabet is employed phonetically with all the diacritical marks *in situ*, and with such modifications as illustrate very clearly phonetic looseness due to careless articulation—the inability of the negroid to pronounce shibboleths. Thus more effort is required to pronounce *th* than *ch*, and the throat-sound *kh* is more difficult than *k*. Therefore,

Ċ represents *ch* in Hausa.

č " *h* or the simple *k*.

ط represents *d* hard.

ض „ *l*.

There is no difference between *aliph* and *ain*.

The gutturals *k* and *g*, which are hard to pronounce, must have assistance in articulation by the addition of the semi-vowels *w* or *y*.

Similarly, in pronunciation ف becomes a pure labial *p* or *b* through imperfect articulation. Laziness or physical limitations ensure that all Semitic throat-sounds are carelessly articulated.

Hausa written in Arabic script serves to emphasize these limitations and to illuminate the fact that Arabic is generally unsuitable as a medium for transcription. Indeed, the average Mallam (i.e. educated man, *mu'allim*) finds it difficult to read unless he knows the writer and is familiar with his peculiarities. Whether it is due to this fact or not that Hausa written in Arabic script is called "Ajami", that is, foreign or strange, and as such, with true Arab exclusiveness to be despised, it is undoubtedly true that the vast majority of the Mallams (educated people) of the Moslem parts of Hausaland invariably employ Arabic itself for what has to be written down. To the educated classes Arabic holds a place similar to that held by Latin in the Middle Ages amongst European scholars. It is possible that Hausa may have a longer literary history than that which is known to us, as it is a matter of current report that the Filani at the time of their conquest destroyed all Hausa documents. In any event, however, Arabic does not appear to be a satisfactory means of committing it to writing.

These conditions have determined the policy, in the educational schemes at the various schools for natives, of training lads to write their language in Roman characters. Hausa phonetically written in English is therefore taking the place of Hausa phonetically written in Arabic, and it is consequently probable that the use of Arabic script in writing Hausa will in course of time become moribund.

As the natural consequence of this educational policy a standard of orthography became necessary, and one has now been

fixed by the educational authorities to which it is hoped existing grammars and dictionaries may in time conform.

In Hausa we find the characteristic features which distinguish primitive from inflectional languages. Grammatical relations are shown by reduplication, prolongation, prefixes and suffixes, and by an important use of pronouns. These relations bear no resemblance to the Semitic characteristics of Arabic with its trilateral roots of three consonants, where grammatical work is performed by transposition of vowels.

Reduplication, for instance, for the sake of emphasis, which is one of the most natural and primitive of word-formations, is very common in Hausa, either in the form of pure reduplication or by the repetition of the first syllable, as *gani*, to see, *gangani*, to spy, *bugu*, to beat, *bubuga*, to beat severely. Practically speaking this latter use is common to all verbs that admit of it.

The method common to many primitive tongues of forming a predicate by the addition of a pronoun is also frequent. Again, the majority of the prepositions are nouns. Nouns are not inflected except for the plural; case-formation is made by the aid of prepositions.

Similarly, verbs are not inflected except for participles and moods, as *tura*, to push; *ture*, push with an object; *turo*, push towards; *turnu*, to be pushed; *turawa*, pushing; *turuwa*, being pushed.

The distinctions of the verb tense in the active voice are made entirely by pronouns, as

Su teffi, they go.

Sun teffi, they went.

Suna teffia, they are going.

Suka teffi, they had gone.

Sukan teffi, they would go.

In what corresponds to the passive voice the verb tense distinction is made by the inflection of a prefixed impersonal pronoun with the personal pronoun as a suffix, e.g., *suka halbesu*, they shot them, *akahalbesu*, they had been shot.

Prolongation or shifting of the accent, though in many instances a concession to euphony, is also largely used to express complete changes of meaning, as *kai ne sariki*, you are a chief; *kai sariki ne*, are you the chief?

Imitative or onomatopœic words are of great frequency,

especially as regards names of animals or birds. *Tsuntsu*, a bird, is onomatopœic in its resemblance to the *susurrus* of a bird in flight. *Aguugwa*, duck, *tolotolo*, turkey, *gurgura*, to gnaw, are good examples of imitative words. The in-breathing action is also imitative in *sha*, to drink, *hansuri*, to snore, *hamma*, yawn. Again, *chi*, to eat, is similarly imitative, and the word is not only used to express mastication of food, but is used in every sense of devouring or achievement. Thus, to assume royal rank or to overcome an enemy is expressed by *chi*. The logical analogy is followed out in cases where rank is temporary when *dandana*, to taste, is used: thus, *chiniki chin juna* (auction), the business of eating or overcoming each other; *chi sarautu*, to assume royal rank as in the case of the king; *dandana sarauta*, to have rank for a time or a taste of power, as in the case of the Lord Mayor.

In gender formation one meets with the consonantal change from *n* masculine to *t* feminine, common to Hamitic languages. Particularly is this illustrated in the possessive pronouns, thus *naka*, your, *nasa*, his, in agreement with a masculine noun; *taka*, your, *tasa*, his, in agreement with a feminine noun. Examples, *doki nasa*, his horse, *mata tasa*, his wife.

In its phonetic structure, that is the sounds of which the language is composed, Hausa tends invariably to euphony. It belongs to the childhood of a language only recently become fossil poetry. The influence of intonations on the phonetic quality of the language is profound.

The vocabulary is, as I have said, copious, and reflects character and environment. There are six dialects, namely, Daura, Katsina, Sokoto, Kano, Zamfara, and Zaria, but for all practical purposes these have been reduced through centralization to two, viz. Kano and Sokoto, between which there are striking differences in word-formation and grammatical forms.

Language being the expression of thought by means of speech-sounds, the range of expression in Hausa is wide and full of picturesque imagery from ideas and things common to the everyday life of the people. The sentence structure is simplicity itself, for there is no need to give expression to abstract philosophical ideas. The spoken tongue is utilitarian and serves for daily necessities. For the claims of science, metaphysics, and religion, as also for literary use, the educated Hausa relies on

Arabic. For wit, humour, imagination, and such poetry as is within his ken, Hausa speech is sufficient for his needs.

As in the Bantu languages and in the inchoate dialects of Polynesia, consonantal endings in Hausa are of great rarity; where found the words are generally Arabic or an imitative interjection.

In the incorporation of Arabic words the Arabic article *al* becomes part and parcel of the word in Hausa—thus *alkali*, a judge (here is an example of the imperfect articulation previously alluded to whereby the heavy Arabic *d* in *alkadi* becomes softened to *l*). Other examples are:—

addini, worship, الدين

alada, custom, العادة

annabi, prophet, النبي

ladabi, respect, الادب

and there are many more all showing this incorporated article. There is no alteration in grammatical structure in such word-borrowing.

As in Arabic, there is no general rule for noun plurals save one that must presuppose irregularities, inconsistencies, and anomalies.

Adjectives are frequently formed by adverbial prefixes to nouns and verbs (as *anfani*, use, *da anfani*, useful). For the definite article the demonstrative pronoun is used, either separately or as an abbreviated suffix; in rare cases by the word order in a sentence.

In the formation of nouns of agency extensive use is made of nominal prefixes *ma* and *mai*, the latter having plural *masu*. In this word-forming process verbs, substantives and adjectives are used in profusion with either of these prefixes, as *mai yaudara*, knave (*yaudara* = to deceive); *mai-tsiyachi*, pauper (*tsiyachi* = poverty); *mai-girma*, great man (*girma* = large).

The high standard of industrialism found amongst Hausa peoples naturally entails a wide vocabulary relating to agriculture, arts, and crafts. With the light shallow humus of the country

agriculture with them is something very different from merely tickling the ground with a hoe before it will laugh with a harvest. Intensive cultivation is assiduously practised and the skill with which natural difficulties are overcome and the materials to hand are utilized has never ceased to prompt the admiration of the modern exponent of scientific farming. And we find the same high standard in craftsmanship. Few people holding the grade in the scale of civilization held by the Hausas can, I imagine, show such a complete vocabulary for the flora of their country. Practically every tree, bush, and flower has not only its own name in the vernacular but is used as material for industry in all its processes from fertilization of the soil up to the fixing of dyes.

The incorporation of English words in the language shows a quaint re-casting in a foreign mould, thus "doctor" becomes *likita*, "headman" *heliman*. The latter even has been heard in the native plural as *helimanyoyi*.¹ And this brings me to the subject of word-borrowing and its implied consideration of the question to what extent such additions are useful to widen a limited range of expression. Word-borrowing from Arabic has, as I have shown, supplemented Hausa vocabulary usefully in correspondence with the evolution of the intellectual and industrial development of the people. When applying the same test to words and phrases imported from other tongues I have picked out a few examples which illustrate the extent to which the etymology of incorporated words is sometimes almost grotesque in origin.

European countries having colonies adjacent to Hausaland have their white administrators described by some insignificant peculiarity that happens to appeal particularly to the native. Thus the French are called *Masuche shut up*, the people who say "shut up": because a certain French mission once passed through the country and "shut up" appeared to be all the English they knew. Similar experiences are common to every land. In China Tommy Atkins used to be described as "I say man". In Japan the French as the people who say "dis-done"; while in German

¹ An alternative illustration of looseness in incorporating foreign sounds is afforded by the borrowed word *sully*, which is mispronounced English for "shilling", and appears thus written phonetically in Arabic on the currency notes.

East Africa the Germans are called "the people of fifteen"—the whip being the special form of frightfulness by which the prophets of Kultur imposed their will and fifteen strokes being the minimum number administered. A comical instance of word-borrowing is to be found in one of the administrative provinces of Nigeria in a tax called the "Adenkia" tax. This is a kind of income-tax assessed upon a town in its aggregate amount, wherein the individual contributions to make up this total are to be fixed by the chief according to the wealth and standing of each contributor. This division of the total assessment is outside the scope of the European official and is left to the native rulers. One of them on one occasion asked his political officer how he was to make up this tax, and received the reply "I don't care", whereupon that special form of tax became known everywhere as the "Adenkia" or "don't care" tax. For years there figured on the map of one of the Protectorates a town called "Passinodaia" which no one could ever find. One inquisitive Revenue officer traced the history of this mythical city and found that in the early days of British occupation a surveyor suffering from tropical inertia had compiled his map from information supplied by his labourers. Pointing to some rising ground he asked what town was there, and received the reply in negro lingo "Passon no dere", meaning that nobody dwelt there. Misunderstanding his informant he promptly dotted on his map a town called "Passinodaia". I mention these examples as instances of the trivial episodes that lead to importations in language which harden as time goes on into permanent adjuncts.

A didactic form of speech common to most oriental languages is speaking in parables. By means of imagery and example this method assists in conciseness of expression, panders also to the love of circumlocution, and fills up the gaps in a language badly adapted for the expression of abstractions. By means of some apt allusions to a concrete fact or experience that has become common knowledge this method is frequent in dialectics to "point the moral". In proverbial sayings Hausa is very rich, and the colloquial speech is freely garnished with phrases in which "the wit of one man becomes the wisdom of many". These throw singularly informing sidelights on the character and customs of the people.

I have described the typical Hausa as a traveller, merchant,

artisan, and tradesman. Industrial activity is the distinguishing characteristic of the race. It will not be surprising, therefore, to find among them a high sense of the dignity of labour. For the aristocratic haughty temperament with its correlating contempt for manual labour one must go to the governing Filani. In Hausa families of high rank it is the rule that the younger members should learn a trade, and this carries no indignity.

This characteristic appears in very many sayings expressing contempt for "wasters", "spongers", and such-like feckless folk. For instance—"A waster has no use for digging tools"¹; "Inheriting an estate is a worry to a loafer"²; "It is 'cadging' that kills the dog, not hunger,"³ for people throw stones at it. "A waster is like sand, even if you knead it it glides away."⁴

The mastery of the unspoken word and the wisdom of caution is emphasized in many ways, as, for example, "Whoever gets into 'hot water' has his own mouth to thank"⁵; "What the mouth binds the hand cannot untie"⁶; "Speech is a straw plucked from the thatch, once drawn out it cannot be put back."⁷

The advantages of knowledge are expressed by "Lack of knowledge exceeds the night in darkness"⁸; and the danger of a little knowledge is *kunkummi-kunkummi*, being the method of tying up a captured slave by stringing his wrist to his neck.⁹

The penalties of incurring obligations are shown in "Whoever takes pay from a leper must shave him"¹⁰; and "Whoever takes a present from a king must fight for him".¹¹

The immemorial connexion between oriental courts of justice and bribery gives rise to many a sharp saying, such as "Wealth is the medicine for abasement"¹²; "An empty hand cannot carry fire"¹³; "One must not enter the judgment hall if his hand is

¹ Raggo ba shi chin abin ginna.

² Gadon gida wohalla ga raggo.

³ Kwadayi ka kashen kare ba yuwa ba.

⁴ Dan banza rairai ne ko andankulashi sai shi wache.

⁵ Wanda ya debo da zafi bakinsa za ya sa.

⁶ Abinda baki ya daure hanu ba ya iya kwanche ba.

⁷ Magana chiram bunu che en ta fita ba ta komowa.

⁸ Resshin sani ya fi deri dufu.

⁹ Karamin sani kunkummi.

¹⁰ Kowa ya chi ladan kuturu ya yi masa aski.

¹¹ Kowa ya chi goron sariki ya yi masa yaki.

¹² Dukia maganin kankanchi.

¹³ Hanun wofi ba ka iya dauka wuta ba.

dry"¹; "The gate of safety for a poor man is the king, not the judge."²

The reciprocal duty of hospitality is enjoined in the following hyperbolic saying: "Should a man kill his mother for you, on the day he visits you you must kill yours for him."³

On the ethical side of life Hausa colloquial sayings are equally illuminating. Deliverance from remorse for the consequences of some ill-considered act is prayed for in the common aspiration "God save us from 'had I known'".⁴ The phrase "Had I known" is also used in the sense of over-caution, e.g., "'Had I known' is a horse which never goes to war"⁵; "'Had I known' is the back of the head, it must be left behind."⁶

The Hausa law of retaliation is Semitic; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. So it is a laudable act if a man does you a good turn to return it, and equally praiseworthy is it to return evil for evil. Thus—"Returning evil to the evil-doer is praiseworthy."⁷ "If a man makes it day for you, you shall not make it night for him."⁸

Amongst the philosophical sayings are, "However pleasant the world is, death is on the way"⁹; "The world is like a rolling crow, now you see white, now black"¹⁰; "The world is the steps to a roof, one is in front of another"¹¹; "Whom does the world worry? The impatient man."¹² Again, of life they say with a shudder, "We know the beginning, we know the end, but it is the in-between which frightens us."¹³ A strikingly typical periphrasis for "tradition" is found in the phrase *kunne ya tsere kaka*, the ear outsteps the ancestor.

Credulity is rebuked in the sardonic maxim, "Leave off buying love potions; the only successful medicine with a woman is money."¹⁴

¹ Kadda ka shigo gidan sberia da hanun wofi.

² Kofar geara wa talaka Sariki ne, ba alkali ba ne.

³ Mutum en ya yenka maka uwatasa, kai randa ya zo ka yenka masa taka.

⁴ Allah ya tsaremu da-da na sani.

⁵ Da na sani doki ba ya taba zua yaki.

⁶ Da na sani keya ne akanberta abaya.

⁷ Rama chiuta ga mai-chiuta ibada ne.

⁸ En mutum ya yi maka deri, kai ka yi masa rana.

⁹ Komi dadin dunia lahiru ta fito.

¹⁰ Dunia birgima hankaka en ka ga fari ka ga bekki.

¹¹ Dunia matakin soro woni gabba ga woni.

¹² Wa ta dame dunia marashankuri shi ke.

¹³ Mun sani nafari mun sani na karshe amma tsaka tsaka shi mu ke tsoro.

¹⁴ Beri bini zeze maganin mata sai kudi.

An obstinate or stingy man is compared to a species of wood remarkable for its hardness, qualified by the words *mataurin hanchi*, which means "tough in the nose". How many of us have acquaintances to whom *mataurin hanchi* would apply! East Anglians have the epithet "snortly", which is the exact counterpart. The Dutch phrase "he has a Frisian head" implies the same simile.

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone. In a society in which a rich man who is not powerful is the legitimate prey of the king there are naturally several sly allusions to the advantages of poverty, as "The poor man is the king's friend".¹ The shrewdness of the following maxim is also remarkable—"To add a 'tip' to the lawful wage is the beginning of the end of trouble."²

Proverbs common to every race such as, "Curses come home to roost,"³ "Familiarity breeds contempt," "A burnt child dreads the fire," etc., have of course their counterpart in Hausa. Some of the most suggestive of Hausa sayings, however, are those which cannot be reproduced here. The bluntness and grossness of speech characteristic of a primitive society, which has not yet attained to the ultra-refinement of manners and language that serves to disguise the grossness of civilized communities, is much in evidence. Such sayings are only quotable when veiled in the decent obscurity of a learned tongue, and it would be fruitless to give them here in such a guise. One loses the opportunity of a peculiarly interesting insight into Hausa character by this deprivation.

The influence of Muslim ideals is seen in the many translations into the vernacular of the higher precepts of that creed, such as the traditional saying of Mohammed that truth lies in the middle, by which he enjoined the balanced judicial mind on the dispensers of Mohammedan law, and is thus rendered, "The better task is to find a middle course."⁴ Also in the moral maxims, "Preserve thy feet from straying too far, lest they carry you to a place whence there is no departing"⁵; "Keep thy hands preventing unwise acts."⁶ The latter is a typical instance of Hausa circumlocution.

¹ Talaka abokin sariki.

² Bayeswar tukuichi ma lada ya fara karshen wohalla.

³ Faifai ya komo ma-shokia (husks return to the winnower).

⁴ Aiki mafikeou arabbash.

⁵ Akiyaye kaffafunka dayawan tefia kadda su teffi wurinda ba ateffia ba.

⁶ Akiyaye hanunka hanan ba shi da hankali.

Failing adequate Hausa literature one is thrown back on the folk-tales of the people, and it is from the story-teller who is to be found in every concourse of his fellows that the richness of the language is to be gauged. In every corner of a crowded Hausa market-place, on every camping-ground, will be found men gathered under the glamour of the native teller of yarns, who holds them spellbound by his recitals of stories of magic, tragedy, or love.

Food, women, and war are staple subjects of interest to all, and though the wit is subtle and charged with innuendo, with little delicacy of expression, yet one strikes occasionally a real vein of poetical thought and now and then a tale of pure romance. Here and there in a tale bristling with lust and obscenity one will come across a gem of true poetry in parenthesis. For instance, in the description of the girl of his heart, my pet *raconteur* in praise of her graceful carriage said that "the stem of her body swayed like sugar-cane in the breeze"¹—a particularly graceful simile. Again, in a tale of torrid indelicacy a guilty couple in a hut were pictured as waking "when dawn came with its dancing motes of gold and silver which lit up the room".² Again, most realistic is the terse distinction between two favourite stringed instruments—the *molo* which gives a subdued plaintive note and the *goge* which is played like a violin—"the voice of the *molo* is tears, the voice of the *goge* is delirium."³

The colloquial vocabulary is rich in the language of anathema, terrific curse words of great potency, the use of which will bring one occasionally within the reach of the law. Not unnaturally these are some of the first phrases caught up by children in the tenacious stage of infancy. I have one vivid recollection during a strenuous vaccination campaign of a small child venting on the operating doctor a torrent of appalling abuse that would have put to shame the fo'c'sle of a tramp steamer. Fortunately the doctor did not understand a word.

Quaint phrases also, which by the power of association cause chords of memory to vibrate, abound. Take the phrase *khalkhal banza* as descriptive of a woman of loose character. Literally the word means "useless anklets", but the phrase

¹ Goran jikinki kaman takanda tana rawa.

² En assuba ta yi da zinariya da azurfa sai su haske daki suna motsi.

³ Maimurian molo kuka maimurian goge hauka.

irresistibly recalls the ghostly stillness of a Moslem city at night, save of course in the fasting month of Ramadan. A silence, not voiceless like the stillness of an African forest, but one where in every hush there is an echo, and in every fleeting breeze a whisper, of mystery intangible but sentient; and in the midst of it the silence is broken by the tinkle of the night-walker's anklets as her stealthy footsteps steal along the gloomy streets. The speaking Biblical phrase of "keeping one's garments" as being a test of faithfulness is reflected in the term applied to a profligate girl—*Ba ta kai bantenta ba* (she has not kept her loin-cloth).

Another instance is one of historical association.

The commonest exclamation in Hausaland expressive of joy, satisfaction, or encomium is *Madila*. It is so often assumed that this has some connexion with *Allah* that it may be well to note that it owes its origin to the triumph of a successful imposture over maleficent influences as related in one of the traditional records of Solomon.

An old legend of King Solomon says that to the work of the building of the Temple he harnessed all the energies of the *Djinni*—those mythical demons familiar to all readers of the *Arabian Nights*. But before the completion of the work Solomon died, and as control of the *Djinni* would disappear with his authority his body was propped up by his staff so that the working *Djinni* should believe they were still under the task-master's eye. It was not until their work was nearly completed that the all-edacious ubiquitous white ant of Africa had eaten out the core of the staff which supported Solomon's corpse, so that it fell to the ground and the harassed *Djinni* realized the imposture which had kept them at work. From the Arabic phrase¹ with which they expressed their disgust is derived the popular exclamation referred to.

The phrase "I hold the ring"² is used as a synonym for "I know better". The reference is to the control exercised by the camel-driver in holding the nose ring of his animal. Probably the power conferred by the holding of a king's signet ring is also implied.

A highly interesting use is made of the word *rua*, meaning

مادلهم على مونه¹

² Na danke zobe.

water or rain: A matter that is not your particular business is alluded to as not your *rua*, not your water. To allay fear or suspicion is to say they have no *rua* for anxiety. It is an expansion of the oriental metaphor for both liberality and freedom of action which comes from the far Arabian desert where rainfall is all-important, so that generosity becomes synonymous with moisture and the dry hand is an empty hand. In that topsy-turvy country to be under a cloud is to be blessed, because a cloud holds life-giving properties.

The Moslem creed admits of no spiritual ambition, for everything is governed by its inelastic law. Therefore, for linguistic references in the domain of spiritualities one has to search amongst the unislamized Hausa populations, of whom there are still some numbers. In common with peoples of similar grade of development all over the world, these people practise many solemn, weird, and obscene rites to invigorate those mysterious natural powers which stimulate the fecundity of the body, of cultivated lands, and of the wild game in the jungle and the fish in the streams. The manifestations of energy in nature are personified. To be on the knees of the Gods is not to be, like Moslems, in the hands of a blind and indifferent destiny, but in the hands of powers capable of being cajoled by gifts or scolded by vituperation into changing their purpose. An integral part of these animistic beliefs is that foods and drinks have values relative to the strength they afford to the spiritual part of a man which is called *kurua*. *Kururua* is onomatopœic for "echo", that intangible something which strikes the senses from outside. By contraction it becomes *kurua*, the term applied to what we mean by soul or spirit of man—the intangible something that strikes the senses from within. It was in an attempt—only, I may interpose, successfully accomplished hitherto by the Moslem missionary—to stop the seasonal beer-drinks amongst these people that I was accused of arresting spiritual development. For it was pointed out that beer had much soul-matter, as evidenced by its effects. I don't know how this argument would affect the efforts of an enthusiast for teetotalism, but it effectually stopped mine.

A considerable portion of the Mallams, educated under the old native regime, devote their talents to the work of doubtful utility of writing charms against all conceivable evils and misfortunes.

To a people nourished on mystery who, in spite of their fatalistic creed, believe in genii, ghosts, goblins, and those terrific things that "go bump in the night", protective charms are eagerly sought for. These consist sometimes of a quotation from the Quran, more or less appropriate; sometimes an astrological formula; sometimes some meaningless rubbish written in Arabic. You may have them wrapped in leather to carry about as a permanent amulet. You may also have a charm written on a board. Wash off the ink from the latter and drink the decoction, and lo! the cure is complete. Or you may have a love potion that will cause the object of your admiration to follow you like a pet dog. Or if your desires wander from self-protection to vengeance on someone who has wronged you, you may steal a portion of your victim's shirt, impregnated through the sudoriferous work of Africa with your victim's soul, and the weaver of unholy spells will concoct for you a medicine that will bring him untold injury.

I hope that I have succeeded in interesting you in a living language of some individuality and of much historical interest, which is spoken by a large population in the Western Sudan, and which in the economic advance now in progress in West Africa will, I anticipate, spread far beyond its present geographical limits.

As a last word I think I shall be forgiven for straying so far from my subject if, at the present momentous time, I end with a brief reference to the regiments of men of the Hausa race who have fought in the Cameroons and are now fighting in German East Africa for the cause of the British Empire. Fostered by their devotion to, and their belief in, the rigid justice of British rule, they are animated by the same spirit that sends our own sons to pay the price of Empire. It is no feeble tribute to an alien coloured race to say that in their case that price is equally willingly, and equally proudly, paid.

INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS

By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

[The following pages form a portion of what has been written by me for the section of the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, dealing with the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. The work was not completed when the War broke out, and as there is no immediate prospect of their publication as originally intended, I gladly accept Sir Denison Ross's suggestion, and offer them as they stand for preliminary publication in the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies.]

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter I: GENERAL VIEW OF THE INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS

1. The languages spoken at the present day in British India are usually divided into three main groups, viz. (1) Aryan languages, (2) Dravidian languages, and (3) others. The last group is mainly composed of Muṇḍā and Tibeto-Burman forms of speech, whose habitats are, respectively, the central hill country of Hindōstān and the mountains that form the northern and the north-eastern boundaries of India proper. The Dravidian languages are principally spoken in the Deccan, although sporadic dialects of this group are found even so far north as the Ganges Valley and in Balūcistān. The Aryan languages cover, roughly speaking, the whole of the northern plain of India, penetrating, in the case of the Pahārī dialects, into the lower ranges of the Himālaya. Closely related to them is another group of languages found in the wild mountainous country lying to the south of the Hindū-kūś. These are called in this work the "Dardic" or "Modern Pisāca" languages. The Indo-Aryan languages have followed the course of the Ganges down to its mouth, and have conquered the fertile plains on both sides of the Brahmaputra as far as Sadiyā, near which place that river enters the Assam valley on its journey from Tibet. The entire course of the Indus, from the frontier of India proper to the sea, recognizes their sway, and on the east and west coasts of the Peninsula they have pushed far to the south, displacing Dravidian languages—on the one hand, Kandh, Gōṇḍ, and Telugu, and, on the other, Kanarese.

2. Throughout the present work I shall call these Aryan languages the "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", it being understood that by this term is meant the Tertiary Prakrits or Vernaculars of the present day, and not the ancient Aryan vernaculars of India, such as the Primary Prakrits (including Vedic Sanskrit), or the Secondary Prakrits, such as Pāli or Prakrit *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.¹ They have been called "Gaudian",² a name derived from the Gauda or Gauṛ tribes of northern Hindōstān, and having no connexion with the other Gauda of Bengal. This word Gauda is often opposed in Sanskrit writings to Draviḍa, or South India, and hence there is a certain appropriateness in calling the great rival of the Dravidian tongues by the name "Gaudian"; but the term has not found general acceptance, and is liable to misconstruction owing to the twofold meaning of the word "Gauda". It has therefore been considered advisable to adopt, instead of this very convenient word, the somewhat unwieldy periphrasis of "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars".³

3. According to the Census of 1911, the population of India, excluding Burma, may be taken as about 303 millions. Of these about 230 millions speak Indo-Aryan vernaculars, 63 millions Dravidian, and the rest other languages. According to the Linguistic Survey of India, the total number of speakers of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars is about 226 millions. The difference is mainly due to the fact that the Survey is based on the figures of earlier censuses. Further, and more important, differences in the figures given for the separate languages are explained by differences in classification, and in such cases it may be taken that the Survey figures are the more correct, although, necessarily, not absolutely accurate for 1911.

These Indo-Aryan Vernaculars fall, as we shall see, into three

¹ The terms "Primary", "Secondary", and "Tertiary" Prakrits are explained in Chapter II.

² e.g. by Hoernle, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*.

³ The term "Indo-Aryan" distinguishes those Aryans who settled in India from those Aryans who settled in Persia and elsewhere, just as "Aryo-Indian" signifies those inhabitants of India who are Aryans, as distinguished from other Indian races, Dravidians, Muṇḍās, and so on. "Gaudian," meaning non-Dravidian, therefore connotes the same idea as "Aryo-Indian". These two words refer to the people and their language from the point of view of India, while "Indo-Aryan" looks at them from the wider aspect of European ethnology and philology. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., 1910, art. "Indo-Aryan Languages".

main divisions, the grouping of which is based on linguistic considerations, and also coincides with the geographical distribution of the various languages. These divisions are:—

	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS.	
	According to Census of 1911.	According to Linguistic Survey.
A. The Midland Language—		
1. Hindi	41,522,377	38,013,928
B. Intermediate Languages—		
a. More nearly related to the Midland Language:		
2. Panjābī	15,876,758	12,762,639
3. Rājasthānī ¹	14,076,106	17,551,326
4. Gujarātī ²	10,673,732	13,336,336
5. Eastern Pahlāri, Khas Kurā, or Naipālī ³	208,932	143,721
6. Central Pahlāri ⁴	3,765	1,107,612
7. Western Pahlāri	1,452,494	853,468
b. More nearly related to the Outer Languages:		
8. Eastern Hindi	22,738,445	24,511,647
C. Outer Languages—		
a. North-Western Group:		
9. Lahndā	4,853,119	7,092,781
10. Sindhī	3,669,935	3,069,470
b. Southern Language:		
11. Marāṭhī	19,802,620	18,011,948
c. Eastern Group:		
12. Bihārī	34,601,981	37,180,782
13. Oṛiyā	10,162,321	9,042,525
14. Bengālī	48,367,915	41,918,177
15. Assamese	1,533,822	1,447,552
Total	229,544,322	226,043,912

4. These fifteen languages form the subject of the present work. In addition we shall consider the Dardic or Modern Pisāca languages. Of these only Kāśmīrī came fully under the operations of the Census of 1911, the number of speakers recorded being 1,180,632. According to the more accurate results of the Linguistic Survey, these figures should be corrected to 1,195,902. The Modern Pisāca languages are the following:—

¹ Including the mixed Khāndēśī dialect.

² Including the mixed Bhīl dialects.

³ Nearly all the speakers of this language inhabit Nēpāl, a country which was not subject to the Census of 1911, and to which the Linguistic Survey did not extend. The figures here given refer only to temporary residents in India.

⁴ In the Census nearly all the speakers of Central Pahlāri were classed as speaking Hindi.

a. Kāfir, or Western, Group.

1. Baṣḡalī.
2. Wai-alā.
3. Veron.
4. Aškund.
5. Paṣai.
6. Tirāhī.
7. Gawar-bati.
8. Kalāṣā.

b. Central language.

9. Khōwār.

c. Dard, or Eastern, Group.

10. Śiṇā.
11. Kāśmīrī.
12. Maiyā.
13. Gārwi.

5. Returning to the Indo-Aryan vernaculars proper, it can be gathered from the names of the various groups that the Midland language occupies the centre of the northern Indian plain, corresponding to the ancient *Madhya-dēśa*, while the Outer languages lie round it in a band on the west, south, and east. Between this Outer band and the Midland language lie the Intermediate languages, representing the latter shading off into the former. There is no hard and fast geographical frontier between each language, for, unless separated by some physical obstacle, such as a wide river or a range of mountains, languages of the same family are not separated by boundary-pillars, but insensibly merge into each other. For instance, Panjābī is classed as an Intermediate language, and the adjoining Lahndā as an Outer language, and yet it is impossible to say where Panjābī ends and Lahndā begins. We shall now proceed to consider these languages in detail.

6. The term "Hindī" is very laxly employed by European writers. It is a Persian word, and properly means "of or belonging to India", as opposed to "Hindū", a person of the Hindū religion.¹ In this sense it can be used to mean any

¹ Cf. Amīr Xusrāu in Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, iii, 539. "Whatever live Hindū fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musalmāns, who were Hindīs (country-born), had their lives spared."

Indian language. By Europeans the name is sometimes reserved for the High Hindi to be described below, but it is more often employed as a vague term to designate all the rural dialects of the four languages—Bihāri, Eastern Hindi, Hindi, and Rājasthānī—spoken between Bengal and the Panjāb. In this work the term “Hindi”¹ is restricted to the modern vernacular of the ancient *Madhyadēśa* in its narrowest sense, i.e. of the greater part of the Gangetic Dōāb and of the plains country immediately to its north and south. Its centre may be taken as the city of Āgrā. From this it extends on the north to the Himālaya and on the south to the valley of the Narmadā. On the west it goes beyond Delhi, and on the east to about Kānhpur (Cawnpore). On its west lie Panjābī and Rājasthānī, and on its east lies Eastern Hindi. As also was the case in ancient times, the language of this tract is by far the most important of any of the speeches of India. It is not only a local vernacular, but in one of its forms, “Hindōstānī,”² it is spoken over the whole of the north and west of continental India as a *lingua franca* employed alike in the court and in the market-place by everyone with any claim to education. Hindōstānī is properly the dialect of Hindi spoken in the upper part of the Gangetic Dōāb, and in the days of the early Muṣul sovereignty of India it was the common speech of the *bāzār* of Delhi, which is situated close to this tract on the right bank of the Jamnā. From Delhi it was carried all over India by the Muṣul armies. It first received literary cultivation in the sixteenth century in Southern India, and received a definite standard of form a hundred years later at the hands of Walī, of Aurangābād in the Deccan.³ It was then taken up in the north by both Musalmāns and Hindūs. The former enriched its vocabulary with a large stock of Persian (including Arabic) words, but this Persianization was carried to an extreme by the pliant Hindū Kāyasths and Khattrīs employed in the Muṣul administration and acquainted with Persian, rather

¹ In the Linguistic Survey the term “Western Hindi” is employed instead of “Hindi”, in order to distinguish it from the altogether different “Eastern Hindi”. The word “Western” is here dropped, as being hardly necessary for the class of readers for whom this work is intended.

² Not “Hindūstānī”, as often written by Europeans. See C. J. Lyall, *Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 1.

³ The South being a Dravidian country, the soldiers and rulers who came from various parts of Northern India and conquered it did not acquire the local language, but adhered to their own *lingua franca* picked up in the Delhi bāzār.

than by Persians and Persianized Muṣṣuls, who for many centuries used only their own languages for literary purposes.¹ This Persianized form of Hindōstānī is known as *Urdū*, a name derived from the *Urdū-ē mu'ālā*, or royal military *bāzār* outside Delhi palace, where it took its rise. As a literary language *Urdū* is also called *Rēṣṭa* ("scattered" or "crumbled") from the manner in which Persian words are scattered through it, and a further form of this is *Rēṣṭī*, or the language of verse written by women, and expressing the sentiments, etc., peculiar to them.² We have seen that Hindōstānī literature began in the Deccan. The language is still used by Musalmāns of that part of India, and there retains many old and provincial forms belonging to the upper Gangetic Dōāb, which have fallen into disuse in the language of the north. This southern dialect is called *Dakṣiṇī Hindōstānī*. The present form of literary Hindī, or *High Hindī*, is a reversion to the type of the non-Persianized vernacular of the Upper Dōāb, brought into use by the teachers at the College of Fort William in Calcutta in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was desired to create a Hindōstānī for the use of Hindūs, and this was recreated by taking *Urdū*, the only form then known, as a basis, ejecting therefrom all words of Persian or Arabic origin, and substituting in their place words borrowed from, or derived from, the indigenous Sanskrit. Owing to the popularity of the *Prēm Sāgar*³ of Lallū Lāl, one of the first books written in this newly devised speech, and also owing to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindūs without their religious prejudices being offended, it received cultivation in Benares and is now the recognized vehicle for prose written by those inhabitants of Upper India who do not employ *Urdū*.

Up to the date of the introduction of printing into India by the English the only *Urdū* literature was in verse. During the same period Hindū poets generally used their own local dialects for the same purpose. These are still used for Hindī poetry, *High Hindī* being almost entirely confined to prose. *High Hindī* poetry has only come into existence during the last twenty years

¹ Lyall, *op. cit.*, 9.

² The two principal writers in this style were Rangin and Jān Sāhib. Their works are valuable for students of the women's dialect.

³ A translation of the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

and has not yet won general acceptance. Poetry in the Hindi dialects is based on Indian traditions and written in Indian metres. On the other hand, nearly all Urdū poetry is an imitation of the Persian and employs Persian metres. Urdū prose, like High Hindi, came into general use under English influence, and began in the compilation of textbooks for the College of Fort William.

7. Urdū is written in a modified form of the Persian character. The general use of this form of writing the language dates from the time of Tōḍar Mal, Akbar's celebrated Finance Minister, and a Hindū (†1589). Up to this time all revenue accounts had been kept in some character of the Nāgarī type, and he ordered them in future to be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers. The study of Persian, and a familiarity with its character, thus became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.¹ Other forms of Hindi are generally written in the Nāgarī character or in the closely allied Kaithī. Owing to the number of Arabic words present it is most inconvenient to write Urdū in Nāgarī, while High Hindi written in the Persian character is found, as a matter of practical experience, to be illegible.

8. The other dialects of Hindi are Bāṅgarū, Braj Bhākhā, Kanaujī, and Bundelī. *Bāṅgarū*, or *Hariānī*, is the language of the Bāṅgar, or the highland of the south-eastern Panjāb, immediately to the west of the Jamnā. It is a mixed dialect, partly Hindi, partly Panjābī, and partly Rājasthānī. *Braj Bhākhā*, the language of the Vraja or the Cowpen country, celebrated as the scene of the early life of Kṛṣṇa, is spoken round Mathurā and in part of the Central Gangetic Dōāb. It is the form of Hindi mainly used in literature of the classical period, and is hence considered to be the *dialectos præcipua*, and may well, save in one respect,² be considered as typical of the Midland language. It has a copious literature of high merit, mainly devoted to illustrating the legends regarding and the religion directed to Kṛṣṇa. *Kanaujī* or *Antarbēdī* is the language

¹ Blöchmann, *Āin-e Akbarī*, tr., 352.

² The one exception is the fact that the termination of strong masculine nouns with *a*-bases ends in *ā*, not in *au* or *ō*, thus agreeing with the vernacular Hindōstānī of the upper Dōāb and with Panjābī, both of which owe it to the influence of the Outer languages.

of the ancient holy Antārvedi or Central Gangetic Dōāb, the chief city of which was for very many centuries Kanauj (Kanyākubja). It has extended north of the Ganges up to the Nēpāl Tarāi. It differs but little from Braj Bhākhā, and like it has a copious literature. *Bundēli* is the language of Bundēlkhand, lying south of the Braj Bhākhā country, and reaching to the valley of the Narinadā. It also has a literature of considerable merit.

9. The Intermediate languages, as their name implies, are of a mixed character, representing the Midland language shading off into the Outer languages. In those to the west of the Midland the shading off is very gradual, the influence of the Midland language being very strong near the centre, and gradually fading away as we approach the circumference. On the other hand, the eastern Intermediate language, Eastern Hindī, belongs rather to the Outer type, and is not so strongly influenced by the Midland language.

10. *Panjābī* lies immediately to the north-west of Hindī and occupies the central Panjāb. The eastern Panjāb is occupied by Hindī, and the western by Lahndā, an Outer language. Nowhere do we see the gradual change of the Midland to the Outer languages more clearly than in the case of Panjābī. This is due to the very composite nature of the speech. We shall see that the north-western Outer languages (including Lahndā) are strongly influenced by the Dardic or Modern Pisāca languages of the extreme north-west, and traces of this Dardic influence extend over the whole Panjābī area,¹ growing weaker and weaker as we go eastwards, just as the influence of the Midland language grows weaker and weaker as we go westwards. This linguistic condition leads us to the conclusion that (much as we know from history was the case in Rājputānā) this mixed language, mainly Outer, but partly Dardic, once extended over the whole Panjāb, and that the inhabitants of the Midland, through pressure of population or for some other reason, gradually took possession of the Panjāb, and partly imposed their own language upon the inhabitants. In no other way can the nature of the mixed language of the Panjāb be explained. One result of this mixture is that it is quite impossible to give any definite boundary-line between Panjābī and Lahndā, and if, for

¹ Such, for instance, as the plural of the personal pronouns.

convenience sake, we take the degree of 74° East longitude as an approximate conventional frontier, it is to be clearly understood that much that is very like Lahndā will be found to its east, and much that is very like Panjābī to its west. Panjābī has a national character akin to the Mahājānī of Rājputānā and to the Śāradā of Kaśmīr. It is known as *Laṇḍā*¹ or "clipped", and is a most imperfect means of writing. It has only two or three characters for the initial vowels, and none for the non-initial. The consonants, too, are far from clear and the script varies from place to place. It is seldom legible to anyone but the writer, and not always to him. According to tradition, Aṅgada (1538-52), the second Sikh Guru, found that the hymns of his religion when written in this character were liable to be misread, and he accordingly improved it by borrowing signs from the Nāgarī alphabet and by polishing up the forms of the existing letters. The resultant alphabet became known as *Gurmukhī*, or that which proceeds from the mouth of the Guru. This Gurmukhī alphabet is the one now used for printed texts employed by the Sikhs of the Panjāb, and is also used by Hindūs of the same country. Musalmāns, as a rule, prefer the Persian alphabet.²

The standard form of Panjābī is that spoken round Amṛtsar (Amritsar), and although it varies slightly from place to place, it has only one real dialect, the *Dōgrī* spoken in the State of Jammū and, with slightly varying inflexions, in the District of Kāngrā. It has a character of its own called *Ṭakkarī* or *Ṭakarī*, the name of which is probably derived from that of the Ṭakkas, a tribe whose capital was the famous Śākala.³ Panjābī has a small literature, mainly consisting of ballads and folk-epics. The contents of the Sikh *Granth*, though written in the Gurmukhī character, are mostly in old Hindi, only a few of the hymns, though some of these are the most important, being written in Panjābī. Of the languages connected with the Midland, Panjābī is the one which is most free from borrowed words, whether Persian or Sanskrit. While capable of expressing all ideas, it has a charming rustic flavour characteristic of the sturdy peasantry that uses it. In many respects it bears much

¹ This word has nothing to do with the word *Lahndā*, which means "West".

² See Grierson, "The Modern Indo-Aryan Alphabets of North-western India": J.R.A.S., 1904, 67.

³ See Grierson, J.R.A.S., 1911, 302.

the same relationship to Hindī that the Lowland Scotch of the poet Burns bears to Southern English. One other point may be noted. So far as I am aware, Panjābī is the only Indo-Aryan vernacular that possesses tones, corresponding to the accents of Vedic Sanskrit or to the tones of the Tibeto-Chinese languages.¹

11. Directly south of Panjābī lies *Rājasthānī*. Just as Panjābī represents the expansion of Hindī to the north-west, so *Rājasthānī* represents its expansion to the south-west. In the course of this expansion, Hindī, passing through the area of *Rājasthānī*, reaches the sea in Gujarāt, where it has become *Gujarātī*, another of the Intermediate languages. *Rājasthānī* and *Gujarātī* are hence very closely connected, and are in fact little more than variant dialects of one and the same language.² We shall therefore consider them together. *Rājasthānī* has many traditional dialects, which fall into four well-marked groups—a northern, or *Mēwātī*; a south-eastern, or *Mālvi*; a western, or *Mārwarī*; and an east-central, or *Jaipuri*. Each of these has numerous sub-dialects. *Mārwarī* is typical of Western *Rājasthānī* and *Jaipuri* of Eastern *Rājasthānī*. *Mēwātī* ranges with *Jaipuri*, and represents *Jaipuri* shading off into Hindī, while *Mālvi* represents *Gujarātī* and *Rājasthānī* also shading off into Hindī. *Mārwarī* and *Jaipuri* are sharply distinguished by two important characteristics. In *Jaipuri* the postposition of the genitive is *kō*, and the verb substantive is derived from the old *√ach*, while in *Mārwarī* the genitive termination is *rō* and the verb substantive is *hai*, is. *Gujarātī* has no definite dialects, but Northern *Gujarātī* differs in many important points from that of the South.

¹ These were first noted by T. Grahame Bailey. See his *Panjābī Grammar as spoken in the Wazirabad District*, Lahore, 1904. For particulars, see § 152 below. I believe that no one has hitherto noted that the Vedic *udātta* corresponds to a Tibeto-Chinese "high" tone, while the *visarga* corresponds to the "entering" or "abrupt" tone, like it, also, being the result of the partial or total elision of a final consonant.

² The differentiation of *Gujarātī* from the *Mārwarī* dialect of *Rājasthānī* is quite modern. There is a poem by Padmanābha of Jhālōr, a town only 80 miles from Jōdhpur, the capital of *Mārwar*, entitled the *Kānhaḍadēva-prabandha*. It was written in 1455-6 A.D. At the beginning of the year 1912 there was a lively controversy in Gujarāt as to whether it was in *Gujarātī* or *Mārwarī*. Really it is in neither, but is in the mother language, which in later years differentiated into these two forms of speech. Cf. Tessitori, *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 553, and his "Notes on the Grammar of Old Western *Rājasthānī*, with special reference to Apabhraṃśa and to *Gujarātī* and *Mārwarī*", in *IA.* xliii-v (1914-16), reprinted in one volume, Bombay, 1916.

12. There are many traditions of migration from the Midland into Rājputānā and Gujarāt, the first mentioned being the foundation of Dvārakā in Gujarāt, at the time of the war of the Mahābhārata. According to Jain tradition, the first Caulukya ruler of Gujarāt came from Kanauj,¹ and in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. a Gurjara-Rājput of Bhilmāl or Bhīnmāl, in Western Rājputānā, conquered that city.² The Rāṭhauras of Mārwar say that they came thither from Kanauj in the twelfth century.³ The Kachwāhās of Jaipur claim to come from Ayōdhyā,⁴ while another tradition makes the Caulukyās come from the Eastern Panjāb.⁵ The close political connexion between Gujarāt and Rājputānā is shown by the historical fact that the Gahlōṭs of Mēwar came thither from Saurāṣṭra.⁶ That many Rājput clans are descended from Gurjara immigrants is now admitted by most scholars,⁷ and also that one of their centres of dispersion in Rājputānā was in, or near, Mt. Ābū.⁸ They appear to have entered India with the Hūṇas and other marauding tribes about the sixth century A.D., and rapidly rose to great power. They were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe became of consequence the latter were treated by the Brāhmanas as equivalent to Kṣatriyas and became called Rājaputras or Rājputas, and some were even admitted to equality with the Brāhmanas themselves,⁹ while the bulk of the tribe which still followed its pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gūjars.

¹ V. Smith, JRAS., 1908, 768.

² Id., 1908, 789; 1909, 56.

³ Tod, *Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar*, ch. ii.

⁴ Ib., *Annals of Amber*, ch. i.

⁵ Ib., *History of the Rajput Tribes*, ch. viii.

⁶ Ib., *Annals of Mewar*, ch. i.

⁷ V. Smith, *Early History of India*², 377. See also the following: Tod, *Rajasthan*, Introduction; Elliot, *Memoirs on the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*, ed. Beames, i, 99 ff. and index; Ibbetson, *Outlines of Indian Ethnography*, 262; Jackson, in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, i, pt. i, app. iii, Account of Bhīnmāl, esp. pp. 463 ff.; V. Smith, "The Gurjaras of Rājputānā and Kanauj," JRAS., 1909, 53 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in the Hindū Population," IA. xl (1911), 7 ff., esp. 21 ff.

⁸ V. Smith, *Early History of India*², 412, and IA. xl (1911), 86.

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar, JASB. v (N.S.), 1909, 185. Cf. contra, Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia, ib. viii (N.S.), 1912, 63 ff.

13. So powerful did these Gurjaras or Gūjars become that no fewer than four tracts of India received their name. Three of these are the Gujrāt and Gujrānwālā Districts of the Panjāb and the province of Gujarāt, and Al-Birūnī (970–1031 A.D.)¹ mentions a fourth identified by D. R. Bhandarkar as consisting of the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. According to D. R. Bhandarkar these latter Gūjars came thither from that part of the Himālaya called Sapādalakṣa, corresponding to the modern districts of Kumaun and Garhwāl with the country to their west, and from these at least Eastern Rājputānā was peopled. Whether those that centred round Mt. Ābū in Western Rājputānā belong to the same invasion, or whether they came independently, via Gujarāt and the north-west, is not as yet clear. Here it will suffice to state that the Central Pahārī of Kumaun and Garhwāl (i.e. of Eastern Sapādalakṣa) agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī in having the genitive postposition *ko* and the verb substantive derived from the *Vach*, while in the Western Pahārī of the Simla Hills (i.e. of Western Sapādalakṣa) the termination of the genitive is the Western Rājasthānī *ro*, while one of the verbs substantive (*ā*, is) is probably of the same origin as the Western Rājasthānī *hai*. We thus see that the grammatical shibboleths of Eastern Rājasthānī agree with Central Pahārī, while those of Western Rājasthānī agree with Western Pahārī. We now come to Gujarātī. Here the genitive termination is *no*, and the verb substantive belongs to the *Vach* group. West of Western Pahārī, in the Himālaya, we come to the northern (Pōthwārī) dialect of Lahndā. Here also the genitive termination is *no*, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujarātī. On the other hand, Gujarātī agrees with all the Lahndā dialects in one very remarkable point, viz. the formation of the future by means of a sibilant.² Hence we find that right along the Lower Himālaya, from the Indus to Nēpāl, there are three groups of dialects agreeing in striking points with the three dialects Gujarātī, Mārwarī, and Jaipurī.

14. Three characters, all of the Nāgarī type, are current in Gujarāt and Rājputānā. The Nāgarī character itself is used by

¹ Sachau's tr., i, 202. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in IA. xl, quoted above.

² Pth. *kuffāṭ*, G. *kuffāṭ*, he will strike.

the Nāgar¹ Brāhman of Gujarāt, and is also read and understood over the whole area of both these languages. In Rājputānā books are printed in it, but in Gujarāt people other than Nāgar Brāhman employ a variety of the Kaithī character. This Kaithī character is current over the whole of the Ganges Valley as a kind of script hand, instead of Nāgarī, for letters and documents of small importance; but in Gujarāt it is used not only for written communications but also universally for printed books and newspapers. In Mārwar the mercantile classes employ a character called *Mahājanī*, allied to the Lardā of the Panjāb and to the Śaradā of Kāśmīr.² Mārwarīs are the bankers (*mahājana*) of India, and have carried this character all over India for their banking accounts.

15. Rājasthānī has a large literature, about which very little is known.³ The greater part of it consists of bardic chronicles but Mārwarī has also a considerable poetical literature. Most of the Mārwarī poets wrote in the Braj Bhākhā form of Hindī, which when so used is locally known as *Pīngal*. When poems were written in Mārwarī itself the language was called in contradistinction *Dīngal*. Gujarātī has an old poetical literature dating from the fourteenth century A.D. The first, and still the most admired, poet was Narsinhā Mehtā (B. 1413), and before his time there were writers on Sanskrit grammar, poetics, etc. The Prakrit grammarian Hēmacandra flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. He described the Nāgara Apabhraṃśa, and thus it can be said of Gujarātī, and of Gujarātī alone, that we have an almost unbroken line of descent from the Vedic language down to the vernacular of the present day.

16. We can now consider the three *Pahārī* languages. The word "Pahārī" means "of or belonging to the mountain", and is used as a convenient name for the three groups of Indo-Aryan vernacular languages spoken in the lower ranges of the Himālaya

¹ According to Nagēndranātha Vasu, JASB. lxx, pt. i, 1896, 114 ff., these Brāhman gave their name to the alphabet. In Al-Bīrūnī's time the Nāgara alphabet was used in Mālwa, which is close to Gujarāt. Sachau's Eng. tr., i, 173.

² It is worth noting in this connexion that Old Mārwarī in some respects agrees with Kāśmīrī, e.g. in possessing a genitive postposition *handō*.

³ A Bardic and Historical Survey of Rājputānā has lately been set on foot by the Government of India, under the superintendence of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is in charge of Dr. L. P. Tessitori, who has already discovered a number of important works. See JASB. xiii (n.s.), 1917, pp. 195 ff., and reports and texts published, under Tessitori's editorship, by the ASB.

from Nēpāl in the east to Bhadrawāh in the west. Going from east to west, these three groups are *Eastern Pahārī*, *Central Pahārī*, and *Western Pahārī*.

17. *Eastern Pahārī* is commonly called "Nepālī" or "Nai-pālī" by Europeans, but this name is hardly suitable, as it is not the principal language of Nēpāl. In that State the principal languages are Tibeto-Burman, the most important being Nēwārī, the name of which is also derived from the word "Nēpāl". Other names for Eastern Pahārī are "Pārbatiyā" or "the Hill language", and "Khas Kurā" or "the language of the Khas tribe". We shall shortly see that the last name is not inappropriate. Eastern Pahārī being spoken in a mountainous country has no doubt many dialects. Into one of these, Pālpā, spoken in Western Nēpāl, the Serampore missionaries made a version of the New Testament, and as Nēpāl is independent territory to which Europeans have little access, that is our one source of information concerning it. The standard dialect is that of the valley of Kāṭhmandō, and in this there is a small printed literature, all modern.¹ The dialect of Eastern Nēpāl has of late years been adopted by the missionaries of Darjiling as the standard for a grammar and for their translations of the Bible. Eastern Pahārī is written and printed in the Nāgarī character.

18. *Central Pahārī* is the name of the language of the British Districts of Kumaun and Garhwāl and of the State of Garhwāl. It has two main dialects, *Kumaunī* and *Garhwālī*. A few books have of late years been written in Kumaunī and one or two in Garhwālī. So far as I have seen, both these dialects are written in the Nāgarī character.

19. *Western Pahārī* is the name of the large number of connected dialects spoken in the hill country of which Simla, the summer headquarters of the Government of India, is the political centre. These dialects have no standard form, and beyond a few folk-epics, no literature. The area over which they are spoken

¹ Eastern Pahārī, as an independent language, is of very modern origin, the Indo-Aryan migration from the west into Nēpāl dating only from the sixteenth century A.D. The language is strongly influenced by the surrounding Tibeto-Burman dialects, and has changed considerably within living memory. It appears to have superseded another Indo-Aryan language akin to the Maithilī dialect of Bihārī, now spoken immediately to the south of Nēpāl. A specimen of this old dialect was published by Conrady in 1891. It is a drama, entitled the *Hariscandranṛtya*.

extends from the Jaunsār-Bāwar tract of the United Provinces, and thence, in the Province of the Panjāb, over the State of Sirmaur, the Simla Hills, Kuḷu, and the States of Maṇḍī and Cambā, up to, in the west, the Bhadrawāh Jāgīr of Kaśmīr. It has numerous dialects, all differing considerably amongst themselves, but nevertheless possessing many common features. We may take as typical, *Jaunsārī*, of Jaunsār-Bāwar; *Kiñthalī*, the dialect spoken in the hills round Simla; *Kuḷāī*, of Kuḷu; and *Cameālī*, of Cambā. Western Pahārī is written in the Ṭakkārī or Ṭakārī alphabet, already referred to as the alphabet used for the Ḍōgrī dialect of Panjābī. It has most of the disadvantages of Laṇḍā, being very imperfectly supplied with signs for the vowels. Medial short vowels are usually altogether omitted, and medial long vowels are represented by the characters which are also used for initial vowels whether long or short. In the case of Cameālī, the character has been supplied with the missing signs, and books have been printed in it that are as legible and correct as anything in Nāgarī.

20. It has long been recognized that all the Pahārī languages are at the present day closely allied to Rājasthānī, and we have seen above that Central Pahārī (to which we may here add Eastern Pahārī) more nearly agrees with the eastern dialects of that language, especially with Mēwātī and Jaipurī, while Western Pahārī agrees rather with Western Rājasthānī. We have also seen that the areas of Central Pahārī and Western Pahārī together coincide with the ancient Sapādalakṣa. I shall now state what I believe to be the origin of these languages.¹ The bulk of the agricultural population of the modern Sapādalakṣa consists, in the west, of Kanēts, and in the east, of members of the Khas tribe.² The Kanēts are divided into two clans, one called Khasiyā, which claims to be of pure, and the other called Rāo (= *Rāja* or *Rājput*), which admits that it is of impure birth. The chiefs of the country all claim to be of Rājput descent. We thus see that the whole of

¹ The whole question is worked out in detail in vol. ix, pt. iv, of the LSI. dealing with Pahārī. It is impossible here to give more than the general results and a few of the principal references. Those desiring the full proof must refer to the volume of the LSI.

² Cf. Cunningham, "Archaeological Survey Reports," xiv, 125 ff.; Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography*, 268; Atkinson, *Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, ii, 268-70, 375-81, 439-42, and index; Stein, tr. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, note to i, 317; ii, 430, and index.

modern Sapādalakṣa is either peopled with, or contains, many people who call themselves Khas or Khasiyā. That these represent the Khasas, Khasas, or Khasiras of the Mahābhārata cannot be doubted. Like the Pisācas, they were said to be descended from Kaśyapa, the founder of Kaśmīr. They are frequently mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and in the Mahābhārata they are often referred to as a people of the north-west, and even as closely connected with the Kāśmīras and Pisācas (vii, 399). They were Aryans, but had fallen outside the Aryan pale of purity (viii, 2055 ff.).¹ The Harivaṃśa (784, 6440), the Purāṇas, Law-books, etc., all agree in placing them in the north-west.² Stein (l.c.) shows that in Kalhaṇa's time their seat was, roughly, the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir Pāntāl range, between the middle course of the Vitastā on the west and Kāṣṭavāṭa (the modern Kishtwar) on the east. That they eventually spread eastwards over the whole of Sapādalakṣa is shown by their existence there at the present day. They must have conquered and absorbed the previous inhabitants, who were probably non-Aryan Muṇḍās.³ In later years (about the sixteenth century A.D.) they advanced into Nēpāl, and there, mixing with the Tibeto-Burmans and Muṇḍās whom they found there, became the Khas or ruling tribe of that country.⁴

21. We have seen that these Khasas are, in Sanskrit literature, frequently associated with the Pisācas. They must have spoken a language akin to the Modern Pisāca languages, for traces of the latter are readily found over the whole Sapādalakṣa tract, diminishing in strength as we go eastwards.⁵ The Gurjaras, modern Gūjars, seem to have first appeared in India about the

¹ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, vii, iii, 8), the Bāhikas, with whom the Khasas are associated in Mahābhārata, viii, 2055 ff., are still within the pale, and worshippers of Agni.

² Cf. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Wilson-Hall), I, xxi; Bhg. P., II, iv, 18; IX, xx, 29; Mārka. P., lvii, 56; Manu, x, 44; Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, xvii, 52.

³ Cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India (1907), i, 386.

⁴ Hodgson, "Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepal," JASB. ii (1833), 217 ff.; Vansittart, "The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Nepal," JASB. lxiii (1894), pt. i, 213 ff.; S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, i, 257 ff., 261-7, 276 ff.; ii, 216 ff., and index.

⁵ Such are the tendency to drop an initial aspirate (*bhū* for *hōhū*, to become); to disaspirate sonant aspirates (*bhā* for *bhāl*, brother); to harden sonants (*jauḍp* for *jauḍb*, an answer; *ōkhatī* for *ōkhadhī*, medicine); to change *c* to *s* and *j* to *z* (*bazarō* for *cajarō*, good); to change *t* to *s* (*khēt* for *khēt*, a field); to drop medial *r* (*katā* for *kartā*, doing); to change a sibilant to *χ* (*χupnā* for *śupnā*, to hear), or to *h* (*brās* or *brāh*, a rhododendron); and many others.

fifth or sixth century A.D.¹ D. R. Bhandarkar has shown (i.e.) that they occupied Sapādalakṣa. There they amalgamated with the Khasā population that they found *in situ*. In Western Sapādalakṣa they became the Rāo sept of the Kanēts, but were not admitted to equality of caste with the older Khasiyā Kanēts. In East Sapādalakṣa they became altogether merged in the great mass of the Khas population. These Gurjaras were those who took to cultivation, or who adhered to their pastoral pursuits. The fighting men, as we have seen, became Rājput̃s. From Sapādalakṣa, Gurjaras migrated to Mēwāt, and thence settled over Eastern Rājputānā. In later years, under the pressure of Musalmān rule, many Rājput̃s remigrated to Sapādalakṣa, and again settled there. In fact, there was continual intercourse between Sapādalakṣa and Rājputānā.² Finally, as we have seen, Nēpāl was conquered by people of the Khas tribe, who of course included many of these Gurjara-Rājput̃s.³ In this way the close connexion between the three Pahārī languages and Rājasthānī is fully explained.

22. Finally, as shown by V. Smith,⁴ certain of the Gurjaras who had settled in Eastern Rājputānā again migrated towards the north-west, and invaded the Panjāb from the south-east. They left a line of colonists extending from Mēwāt, up both sides of the Jamnā valley, and thence, following the foot of the Himālaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language, and speak that of the surrounding population, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujarī. In each case this can be described as the language of the people

¹ Tod, *Rajasthan*, introduction; Elliot, *Memoirs*, etc., as quoted above, i, 99, and index; Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, 262 ff.; Jackson, *Gazetteer*, as above, i, 463; V. Smith, *The Gurjaras*, etc., as above, 53 ff.; "The Outliers of Rājasthānī," *IA.* xl (1911), 85 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in the Hindū Population," *IA.* xl (1911), 7 ff., esp. 21 ff.

² It is worth noting that the Rājā of Garhwāl claims descent from Kaniṣka, who is said to have come to Garhwāl from Gujarāt or Western Rājputānā; Atkinson, *op. cit.*, 449.

³ I have not considered here the question of Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. Gujarāt may well have been conquered by Gurjara tribes coming from the north-west. The Western Rājput̃s had their centre of dispersion near Mt. Ābū, but whether the Gurjaras of Ābū came from the east or from the west I cannot say. All that can be said is that the agreement between Western Pahārī and Western Rājasthānī is very striking.

⁴ In *Outliers*, etc., as above.

nearest the local Gūjars, but badly spoken, as if by foreigners. The farther we go into these sparsely populated hills the more independent do we find this Gūjar dialect, and the less it is influenced by its surroundings. At length, when we get into the wild hill-country of Śwāt and Kaśmīr, we find the nomad Gūjars (here called Gujurs) still pursuing their original pastoral avocations and still speaking the descendant of the language that their ancestors brought with them from Mēwāt. But this shows traces of its long journey. It contains odd phrases and idioms of the Hindōstānī of the Jamnā valley, which were picked up *en route* and carried to the distant hills of Dardistān. We thus see that there are two classes of Gūjar languages in the sub-Himālaya. There is first the mixed languages of the Gurjaras who conquered the Khasās of Sapādalakṣa, some of whom migrated later to Mēwāt; and there is also the Gujuri of Śwāt and the Kaśmīr hills, which is the language carried by some of these last back to the Himālaya.

23. The preceding Intermediate languages all lie to the west of Hindī. To its east, separating it from Bihārī, lies another Intermediate language, *Eastern Hindī*. While the western Intermediate languages are on the whole more nearly related to Hindī than to the Outer languages, only showing prominent traces of the latter as we go farther from the centre of dispersion, Eastern Hindī is a fairly uniform language which bears on its face clear marks of connexion both with the Midland and with the Outer languages. As a rule, we may say that in declension it agrees most closely with the Outer languages to its east. In the conjugation of the verb it is more eclectic, sometimes showing forms connected with the Midland, and at other times other forms which are typical of the Outer band.¹ Eastern Hindī has three main dialects, viz., *Awadhī*, which may be taken as the standard, spoken in Audh; *Baghēlī*, spoken in Baghēlkhaṇḍ; and *Chattisgarhī*, spoken in Chattisgarh, i.e. the plain lying to the south-east of Baghēlkhaṇḍ and forming the upper basin of the Mahānadi River. Awadhī is often called *Baiswārī*, or the language of the Baiswār Rājput, but this name properly belongs to that form of Awadhī which is spoken in the south-west of the dialect area. Another name for Awadhī is *Kōsalī*, from Kōśala, the ancient name of the country in which it is spoken. Awadhī and Baghēlī

¹ See LSI. vi, 2 ff.

hardly differ, and form practically one dialect. Chattisgarhī, which is isolated by a range of mountains, is more independent. Eastern Hindī is generally written and always printed in the Nāgarī character, but for less important or less formal documents the Kaithī character is usually employed. Some of the oldest MSS. were also written in Kaithī. Eastern Hindī possesses a great literature, dating from at latest the fifteenth century. Tulasi Dāsa, the greatest poet of mediaeval India and author of the so-called Hindī Rāmāyaṇa, wrote in an old form of Awadhī, and since his time Awadhī has been the dialect most employed for poetry dealing with the history of Rāma, while the Braj Bhākhā form of Hindī has been reserved for poetry dedicated to Kṛṣṇa.

24. We now come to the Outer languages. Besides differences in matters of detail we may here draw attention to one characteristic in which they all agree in showing a marked contrast to the language of the Midland. This is, that while Hindī has a grammar that is essentially analytic, the Outer languages are passing from that stage and are now again becoming synthetic like their Sanskritic ancestors. It is true that in most of them the declension of nouns is still analytic, but in all, the conjugation of the verb, owing to the use of pronominal suffixes, is strongly synthetic. As regards the Intermediate languages, we may say that the western ones (Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and Pabārī) agree in this respect with the Midland, while Eastern Hindī agrees with the Outer languages.

The Outer languages fall, as shown in the list in § 3, into three groups. The first, or north-western group, consists of Lahndā and Sindhī. The character of both these languages is complicated by the fact that they are strongly influenced by the Modern Piśāca languages lying immediately to their north.

25. *Lahndā* is the language of the Western Panjāb. As explained under the head of Panjābī, there is no distinct boundary line between it and Lahndā, which, more even than elsewhere in India, insensibly merge into each other, 74° E. long. being taken as the conventional boundary-line. The influence of Modern Piśāca languages on Lahndā will be understood when we consider that the country in which it is spoken includes the ancient land of Kākaya, and that while the Prakrit grammarians give extremely contradictory lists of the localities in which Piśācī Prakrit was spoken, they all united in agreeing about one,

and only one, locality—Kēkaya.¹ Lahndā is known by several other names, such as *Western Panjābī*, *Jaṭkī*, *Uccī*, and *Hindkī*. The word "Lahndā" itself means "(sun)-setting", and hence "the west". As applied to a language it is merely a conventional abbreviation of the Panjābī *Lahndē-dī bōlī*, or "the language of the west", spoken from the point of view of the Eastern Panjāb. "Western Panjābī" has the disadvantage of suggesting that Lahndā is a dialect of Panjābī, whereas it is nothing of the sort. "Jaṭkī" means the language of the Jaṭṭ tribe, which is numerous in the central part of the Lahndā tract; but Lahndā is spoken by millions of people who are not Jaṭṭs, and millions of Jaṭṭs of the Eastern Panjāb do not speak Lahndā. "Uccī," the language of the town of Ucc (Uch or Ooch of the maps), is really another name for the Mūltānī dialect of Lahndā. "Hindkī," the language of the Hindūs (i.e. non-Pathāns), is the name given to Lahndā in the west of the Lahndā tract, in which Musalmān Paṣṭō-speaking Pathāns also dwell.

Lahndā has four dialects: a central, spoken in the country south of the Salt Range, and considered as the standard; a southern or *Mūltānī*, spoken in the country round Mūltān; a north-eastern or *Pōṭhwārī*, spoken in the eastern and western Salt Range and to the north as far as the borders of Kāśmīr; and a north-western or *Dhannī*, spoken in the central Salt Range and northwards up to the northern extremity of the District of Hazārā, where it meets Śīnā. Both Śīnā and Kāśmīrī are Modern Piśāca languages.

Beyond ballad and other folk-songs Lahndā has no literature. Its proper written character is the *Laṇḍā* or "clipped" character mentioned in connexion with Panjābī, but, owing to its illegibility, this is being superseded by the Persian, or, amongst Europeans, by the Roman character.

26. *Sindhī* is the language of Sindh, the country on each side of the River Indus, commencing about lat. 29° N. and stretching thence down to the sea. In the north it merges into Lahndā, to which it is closely related. Sindh included the ancient Vṛācaḍa country, and Prakrit grammarians recorded the existence of both a Vṛācaḍa Apabhramśa and a Vṛācaḍa Paiśāci.² Sindhī has five recognized dialects, *Vicōlī*, *Siraikī*, *Lārī*, *Tharēlī*, and *Kacchī*.

¹ Grierson, ZDMG. lxvi, 75.

² Pischel, Pr. Gr., 27, 28; Grierson, JRAS. 1902, 47.

The first is spoken in Central Sindh. It is the standard dialect, and that employed in literature. Siraikī is merely a form of Vicōlī and is no real dialect. The only difference consists in its pronunciation being more clearly articulated and in slight variations of vocabulary. In Sindhī the word "Sirō" means the "head" of anything, and "Siraikī" hence comes to mean "up-stream", or "northern" from the point of view of the Lārī, or Lower Sindh. Siraikī is considered by Sindhīs to be the purest form of the language, or, as a local proverb says, "a learned man of the Lārī is an ox in the Sirō." In this connexion it must be remembered that, as a name of a locality, "the Sirō" or "up-stream country" is a relative term, and that its meaning varies according to the locality of the speaker. The lower down the Indus a man lives, the larger the extent of the Sirō, and, from the point of view of an inhabitant of the Lārī, the term practically includes also the Vicōlō, or Central Sindh. Lārī is the language of the Lārī already mentioned, and is considered to be rude and uncouth, but it retains many old forms, and displays one important feature of the Modern Pisāca languages—the disaspiration of sonant consonants—which no longer exists in Vicōlī. Tharēlī and Kacchī are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken in the Thar, or desert, of Sindh, which forms the political boundary between that province and the Mārwar country. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindhī shading off into Rājasthānī-Mārwarī. Kacchī, on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhī and Gujarātī, spoken in Kacch. Sindhī has received very little literary cultivation, and few books have been written in it. Its proper alphabet is Landā, which, as usual, varies from place to place, and is hardly legible. The Gurmukhī and Nāgarī characters are also employed, but the Persian alphabet, with several additional letters for sounds peculiar to the language, is the one in general use.

27. South of the Kacchī dialect of Sindhī the Outer band of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars is broken by Gujarātī. Although Gujarātī is one of the Intermediate languages, it bears, more especially in its northern forms, numerous traces of the old Outer language once spoken in Gujarāt before it was occupied from the Midland.¹ South of Gujarātī we come to the southern Outer

¹ Such are, e.g. the existence of a broad ā, sounded like the a in "all"; the change of ai to ā; of k to c, and of c to s; the frequent confusion between dentals and cerebrals; an oblique case in ā; and a past participle formed with the letter ʾ.

language, *Marāṭhī*, the great daughter of Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit. *Marāṭhī* covers the north of the Deccan plateau and the strip of country between the Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea. It is also the language of Berar, the ancient Vidarbha, and of a good portion of the country to its east. It stretches across the middle of the Central Provinces, and, in a very corrupt form, occupies most of the State of Bastar, where it merges into Oṛiyā through the Bhatṛī dialect of that language. To its south it has Dravidian languages, and to its north, in order from west to east, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, Hindī, and Eastern Hindī. The first three are connected with the Midland, and *Marāṭhī* does not merge into them, a sharp border-line existing everywhere between the two forms of speech. In the east it shows several points of agreement with the neighbouring Chattisgarhī dialect of Eastern Hindī, while it shades off gradually into Oṛiyā, the former of which is closely related to, while the latter is actually a member of, the Outer band.

28. *Marāṭhī* has three main dialects. The standard dialect, commonly called *Deśī Marāṭhī*, is spoken in its greatest purity in the country round Punā. Varieties of this are spoken in the Northern and Central Kōṅkaṇ, and are hence often called Kōṅkaṇī, but the true *Kōṅkaṇī*, spoken in the Southern Kōṅkaṇ in the country near Goa, is a dialect quite different from these. The third dialect is the *Marāṭhī* of Berar and the Central Provinces, which differs from the standard chiefly in matters of pronunciation. *Halbī* is a mongrel mixture of *Marāṭhī* and Dravidian tongues spoken in Bastar. *Marāṭhī* is usually written and printed in the Nāgarī character, a modification of which, known as *mōḍī* or "twisted", and invented by Bālājī Avajī,¹ Secretary to the famous Sivajī (1627-80), is used by some for current correspondence. The Kanarese alphabet is generally employed for writing Kōṅkaṇī, but amongst the numerous native Christians who speak that dialect the Roman character is often used. *Marāṭhī* has a copious literature, and many poetical works of great value are written in it. As Beames (Cp. Gr., i, 38) says, it is one of those languages which may be called playful. It delights in all sorts of jingling formations, and has struck out a larger quantity of secondary and tertiary words, diminutives and the like, than any of the cognate languages. Compared

¹ See B. A. Gupte, IA. xxxiv (1905), 27.

with the analytical Hindī, the synthetic Marāṭhī has a rather complicated grammatical system, and in this and other respects Hindī bears to Marāṭhī much the same relation that, in Europe, English bears to German. In one important particular Marāṭhī differs from all other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It retains many traces of the ancient Vedic tone-accents, here converted into weak stress-accents; while the pronunciation of most of the other languages is based on a new system of stress-accents falling, as far as possible, on the antepenultimate of each word.¹

29. Coming to the Eastern Group of the Outer languages, the first that we have to deal with is *Bihārī*. This is spoken over a considerable area, including nearly the whole of the Bihār and Cutiā Nāgpur Provinces, as well as the eastern part of the United Provinces of Āgrā and Audh. The eastern boundary may be taken as the River Mahānanda in the District of Puraniyā (Purnia of the maps), and in the west it extends to Benares and beyond. Its northern boundary is the Himālaya and its southern the northern border of the district of Simhābhūmi (Singhbhūm) in Cutiā Nāgpur. In the centre of the Bihārī area lie the districts of Paṭnā and Gayā, which together roughly correspond to the ancient kingdom of Magadha, and we may here note that Bihārī still shows the two most important characteristics of Māgadhī Prakrit.²

30. Bihārī has three main dialects—Maithilī, Magahī, and Bhojpurī. *Maithilī* or *Tirahutiā*, the language of the ancient Mithilā and of the modern Tirhūt, is spoken over the greater part of North Bihār, its standard form being that of the north

¹ See Turner, "The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī": JRAS. 1916, 203 ff.

² These are the change of *s* to *ś*, and the termination *ē* of the nominative of *a*-bases. In writing at the present day, *ś* is invariably written for both *s* and *ś*, though in modern times the pronunciation is *s*, not *ś*. The change of pronunciation is due to political reasons. See *Languages of India*, 72. In Bengali the *s*-sound is retained. In Old Bihārī poetry, when, for metrical reasons, it is necessary to lengthen the final vowel of the nominative singular, this is done by making the word end in *ē*. Thus Vidyāpati Thakkura (A.D. 1400) has *sinānē* for *anānam*, *paragānē* for *prakāśaḥ*, *pārē* for *pāram*, *dhīrē* for *dhīram*, and hundreds of others, which will be found in any edition of the poet's works. In Hindī poetry such words would end in *au*, not in *ē*. The Old Eastern Hindī of Tulasi Dāsa, corresponding to Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit, occupies an intermediate position, and uses both *ā* (for *au*) and *ē*, as in *parivārā* for *parivāraḥ*, and *sayānē* for *sajjānaḥ*. It should be noted that both these *ē* and *ā* terminations are used indifferently both for the nominative and for the accusative, thus following the example of Apabhraṃśa, in which (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 247) the accusative has the same form as the nominative.

of the district of Darbhanga, and has a small literature going back to the fifteenth century. *Magahī* is the dialect of the districts of Patnā and Gayā and the neighbourhood, and also extends south over the northern plateau of Cutiā Nāgpur. It is the modern representative of the ancient Māgadhi Prakrit, the language of ancient Magadha.¹ It closely resembles Maithili both in grammar and vocabulary, but has no formal literature. Maithili and Magahī have a most complex verb, the conjugation of which is determined not only by the subject, but also by the person and degree of honour of the object. *Bhojpurī*² differs considerably from Maithili and Magahī. It is spoken in the western portion of the Bihāri area and also covers the southern plateau of Cutiā Nāgpur. It has abandoned the conjugational complexities of the other two dialects and is a simple, direct form of speech. These differences of dialect correspond to ethnic differences. Maithili is the language of a people under the domination of a powerful sept of Brāhman, who lay great stress on ceremonial purity. According to the proverb, three Tirahutiā (or Maithil) Brāhman will have thirteen cooking places, so particular are they to avoid pollution of their food. Tirhūt is one of the most congested parts of British India, the inhabitants of which have little intercourse with the outer world. Magadha is the country of the Bābhans, admittedly descended from outcaste Brāhman (probably Buddhists), and lies on the highway between Upper India and the fertile plains of Bengal. It forms the political gate of the latter province, has suffered many disastrous invasions from Musalmān armies, and has long lost the spiritual impress given to it by the Buddha. Its peasantry, oppressed for centuries, is illiterate and unenterprising. Bhojpuris, on the contrary, are a longboned stalwart fighting race, whose members have spread all over India as mercenary troops or in similar pursuits. They are the fighting men of Eastern India, and their dialect is a handy, if rough, article, made for current use, and not hampered by grammatical subtleties.

¹ Pischel (*Prakrit Grammar*, p. 25) considered that there is no connexion between Magahī and Māgadhi Prakrit. With all respect for this great scholar, I am unable to agree with him on this point.

² The dialect is named from the ancient town of Bhojpur, on the southern bank of the Ganges, in the District of Shāhābād. For the history of Bhojpur and its traditional connexion with the famous Bhoja of Mālwa, see Shāhābād Gazetteer (1906), 132. For an account of the character of the Bhojpuris, see ib. 21.

31. Three written characters are in use in Bihār. Kaithi is in universal employment by everyone except Maithil Brāhmaṇs. In its use it closely corresponds to our script hand, while Nāgarī is used for printed books. Maithil Brāhmaṇs have a special character of their own, closely allied to that of the neighbouring Bengali.

32. *Oṛiyā*, *Oḍrī*, or *Utkalī* is the language of Orissa, or, as natives of India call it, *Ōdra* or *Utkala*. It is bounded on the east by the sea, and in other directions somewhat extends beyond the borders of that province. It varies slightly from place to place, but has no recognized dialectic forms, except that in the south-west there is a mixture of *Oṛiyā*, *Marāṭhī*, and Dravidian forms of speech which is called *Bhatrī*, through which *Oṛiyā* merges into *Marāṭhī*. *Oṛiyā* has a fairly large literature, mainly devoted to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. It has a written character of its own, described in the chapter on alphabets.

33. *Bengali*¹ is the language of Bengal proper, i.e. of the Gangetic Delta and of the country immediately to its north and east. It has a large literature dating from the fourteenth century² A.D., which has been spoilt, since the commencement of the nineteenth century, by a fashion of borrowing Sanskrit words in order to enrich its vocabulary, to an extent that can hardly be conceived by one not familiar with the language. A page of a Bengali book of the early nineteenth century is, so far as its vocabulary is concerned, almost pure Sanskrit, disguised to a certain extent by modern terminations and also by an alphabet differing from the familiar Nāgarī. In this way the literary tongue is quite different from the ordinary speech of general conversation. There are three main forms of the colloquial language, a western, a northern, and an eastern, each with numerous local varieties. As the literary language can scarcely be said to be founded on the colloquial, there is no literary form of the colloquial to give a steadying impulse and prevent the fission into numerous sub-dialects. The standard form of the western dialect is that spoken round Hugli (Hooghly). The northern dialect is spoken in the country north of the Ganges, and has no special standard. It is a curious fact that it agrees

¹ This is an English word, derived from "Bengal". The Indian name is *Bāglā* or *Baṅgabhāṣā*.

² See Dināś Candra Sēn, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911.

in some respects with the cognate Oṛiyā, which is separated from it by the whole width of Western Bengal. The standard of the eastern dialect is the form of Bengali spoken in the neighbourhood of Dhākā (Dacca), but it varies very widely from place to place. One well-marked variety is spoken in the west end of the Assam Valley and in the adjoining parts of Northern Bengal, and is commonly known as Raṅgpurī, from the town and district of Raṅgpur. Another variety, spoken in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, has developed so many peculiarities of pronunciation that it is almost a new language. Bengali agrees with Māgadhi Prakrit in changing every *s* to *ś*. Old Bengali poetry also frequently retains the Māgadhi Prakrit nominative in *ē*, as in *iṣṭadēvē* for *-dēvaḥ*, *nayanē* for *nayanam*, *nirikkhvanē* for *nirikṣaṇam*, and so on,¹ and traces of this termination are visible in the prose of the present day. Bengali has a written character of its own, allied to Nāgarī, which is described in the chapter on alphabets. Here it will be sufficient to say that, while it is admirably adapted, like Nāgarī, for spelling all the borrowed Sanskrit words of the literary language, it can only represent certain of the sounds of the spoken language by the most clumsy periphrases. Thus, it has to represent the sound of *vā* by writing *ōyā*, as the letter corresponding to the *va* of Nāgarī is confounded in the literary language with *ba*.

34. *Assamese*, or, as its speakers call it, *Aḥamīyā*, is the Indo-Aryan language of the Assam Valley, in which there are also several Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by tribes who have not yet accepted Hinduism. We may trace Māgadhi Prakrit from Magadha in three lines. To the south it has become Oṛiyā, to the south-east it has become first Western and then Eastern Bengali, and to the east it has become first Bengali and then Assamese. Although closely related to Bengali, Assamese, owing to its isolated position, and to the presence of Tibeto-Burman influence, has struck out on lines of its own, and differs from Bengali, both in grammar and in pronunciation. It has also a good literature, specially strong in historical works. It has no true dialects, and its written character is the same as that of Bengali, with some useful additions for representing sounds unprovided for by that alphabet in its own home. Under the guidance of the earlier Christian missionaries, Assamese acquired a system of spelling

¹ Such words can be found on every page of OBg. poetry.

which is much more phonetic than that of Bengali, but of late years the revival of the study of Sanskrit has promoted a return to the unphonetic spelling and to the abuse of Sanskrit borrowed terms which has done so much harm to the Bengali literary dialect.

35. We now come to the *Dardic* or *Modern Piśāca* languages. I have given them the latter name because they are spoken in what was the original nidus of the Piśācas of Sanskrit literature. The alternative name, "Dardic," is also given as more convenient, and as having been used by previous writers (see LSI. viii, ii, p. 1). Piśācas usually appear in Sanskrit literature as demons, but the name also represents an old tribe inhabiting the extreme north-west of India.¹ From this country as a nidus they travelled down the Indus² and across the north of Gujarāt into the hill country of Central India. If the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are any test, they not only found their way down the west coast of India as far as the Southern Kōnkan, but also covered a great part of the Panjāb and the lower ranges of the Himālaya up to the borders of Nēpāl.³

A form of Prakrit spoken by Piśācas is recorded by Hindū grammarians under the name of Paisāci. Konow (l.c.) maintains that this language, which was used for literature and was described by Hēmacandra, was the language of the Piśācas of Central India.⁴ But it does not follow that this Piśāca Prakrit was identical with the language originally spoken by the Piśācas

¹ See Grierson, "Piśāca = 'Αποφύγος," JRAS. 1905, 285 ff.; *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*, Introduction; "Piśācas in the Mahābhārata" in *Festschrift für Vilhelm Thomsen* (1912), 138 ff.; on the other hand, Konow, "The Home of Paisāci," ZDMG. lxiv, 112 ff., maintains that Piśāca Prakrit was an Aryan language as spoken by Dravidians of Central India. The whole subject is again discussed in Grierson, "Paisāci, Piśācas, and Modern Paisāci," ZDMG. lxvi, 49 ff. Paisāci Prakrit and the Pāli of the Buddhist scriptures have much in common, and my own opinion is that the latter was originally a kind of literary *lingua franca*, based on Māgadhi Prakrit, which developed in the great university of Takṣaśilā, situated in the heart of Kēkaya, the nidus of the former. Its development is exactly paralleled by that of literary Hindī, the original home of which was Delhi, but which took its present form in Benares far to the East. See my "Home of Literary Pāli" in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 117 ff.

² Cf. the Kaikēya and Vṛācaḍa Paisāci Prakrits of the Indus Valley (Pischel, Pr. Gr., 27).

³ ZDMG. lxvi, 76, 77.

⁴ He is, however, contradicted by Mārkaṇḍeya, xix, 9, in which some words are quoted from the Bṛhatkathā, the work supposed to be Hc.'s authority, as examples of Kēkaya-paisācīkī, i.e. of the Paisāci of North-Western India.

of the north-west. The Piśāca Prakrit of Hēmacandra is a purely Indian language, although differentiated from other Prakrits by important peculiarities that still survive in the Modern Piśāca languages of the north-west; and it is quite possible, nay probable, that the Piśācas in the course of their journey to Central India lost those peculiarities of their language which were essentially non-Indian, and which are below classed as Eranian or Buruṣaski, while retaining those peculiarities by which Piśāca Prakrit is now known.

36. The Modern Piśāca languages are not purely Indian. They have several typical phonetic rules which markedly differentiate them from Indo-Aryan vernacular.¹ Again, while in other respects they are generally in agreement with the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, they occasionally present Eranian characteristics.² Indeed, so striking are some of these that Konow³ considers that one of these languages, Baṣgali, is the modern representative of an Eranian language, the oldest traces of which are found in the names of the Mitani chiefs and other chieftains known from cuneiform inscriptions. In consideration of the fact that some Eranian characteristics are wanting in all of them,⁴ my own opinion is that the Modern Piśāca form a group of languages neither purely Eranian nor purely Indian, and that they probably left the parent Aryan stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Eranian characteristics that we meet in the Avesta had developed. R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion, though differently expressed, is much to the same effect. He says,⁵ "perhaps this (Piśāci Prakrit) was the language of an Aryan tribe that had remained longer in the original seat of the race . . . and emigrated to India at a very late period and settled on the borders. Or it might be that the tribe came to

¹ Such e.g. are the very un-Indian treatment of the letter *r*; the change of *sm* and *sm* to *s* and *s*, respectively, of *ty* and *tm* to *t*, and of *t* to *l* or *r*; the not infrequent retention of intervocalic consonants and hardening of sonant consonants; a weak sense of the difference between cerebrals and dentals; the tendency to aspirate a final surd; the frequent palatalization of gutturals, cerebrals, dentals, and *l*; and the regular retention of a short vowel before a simplified double consonant.

² e.g. the treatment of the vowels; the non-development of cerebral letters; the preservation of numerous consonantal compounds; the change of *d* to *ḷ*, of *dv* to *d*, and of *sk* (*ṣk*) to *c*.

³ JRAS. 1911, 45. I differ here, see *ib.* 195.

⁴ e.g. the Avesta change of *sm* to *hm*, and the preservation of *s*.

⁵ *Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages*, 94.

India along with the others, but living in the mountainous countries on the border in a state of rude independence, it developed peculiarities of pronunciation . . . Since under this supposition they could not have come into very close contact with their more civilized brethren of the plains, their language did not undergo those phonetic modifications which Sanskrit underwent" in becoming Prakrit. Finally, the fact that Modern Piśāca agrees in certain points with Talcah languages¹ tends to show that the speakers entered their present seats, not from the plains of India, but directly from the Pāmirs, while the speakers of the most ancient forms of true Indo-Aryan entered the plains of India from the west. If this is the case, they formed a wave of Aryan immigration distinct from that of the main body.

37. Under the shadow of the Hindū-kuš lie the two small chieftainships of Hunza and Nagar. Their inhabitants have a language of their own, which is not Aryan, and which has not yet been connected with any other language family. This language, or an old form of it, must once have been spoken over the whole Modern Piśāca area and also in the west of Baltistān, where a Tibeto-Burman language is now spoken. This non-Aryan language is called Burnšaskī, the Boorishki of Biddulph, and the Khajuna of Leitner. Stray words from its vocabulary can be found in nearly all the Modern Piśāca languages. Thus, *cōmar*, the Burmese word for "iron", is used in every Modern Piśāca language except Kāśmīrī, and *žukun*, an ass, *buš*, a cat, *bring*, a bird, appear in Siñā under the forms of *žukān*, *bāši*, and *bring* respectively. It is probably owing to the influence of this language that we find the peculiar treatment of the letter *r* in Modern Piśāca (cf. § 287). In all these languages it shows a remarkable tendency to become a palatal letter.² This tendency cannot be considered as original in Modern Piśāca itself, for it is not confined to it alone, and is really typical, not of any group of mutually related languages, but rather of a tract of country, i.e. the whole of the Modern Piśāca area and also of the immediately adjoining Baltistān; for in the Tibeto-Burman Balī the same change occurs, though it does not appear in other Tibeto-Burman dialects more to the east, such as Purik or

¹ *Piśāca Languages*, 5.

² *Piśāca Languages*, 20.

Ladakhi¹ Both Tibeto-Burman Balti and the Aryan Modern Piśāca must therefore have borrowed this peculiarity from a common source, and that can only have been their predecessors in the country. It is impossible to point out instances of such a change in Burušaski itself, as there is no other known language with which comparison can be made. It is an isolated language, with no known relative.

38. The speakers of Modern Piśāca inhabit the wild mountain country lying between the Kābul River and the lower ranges of the north-western Himālaya on the south, and the Hindū-kuš and the Mustāy Range on the north. They fall into three groups, the Kāfir, Khōwār, and the Dard. Most of the speakers of the languages of the *Kāfir* group dwell in the wild and inhospitable country of Kāfiristān, which is not within the sphere of influence of British India, being subject to the Amīr of Afghānistān. Our knowledge of them is therefore limited. We know *Bašgali* best, as a good grammar has been written by Davidson, and we have a dictionary by Konow. The speakers dwell in the Bašgal Valley of Kāfiristān. South of them live the Wai Kāfirs, who speak *Wai-alā*, which is closely related to Bašgali. *Verōn*, also called *Prēsun* or *Wast-veri*, is spoken by the Prēsuns who live in an inaccessible valley to the west of Bašgali, and differs considerably from it. The speakers are quite unapproachable, and the entire body of information concerning it is based on the language of one Prēsun shepherd who was enticed from the wilds of his native valley to Citrāl for the purposes of the Linguistic Survey of India. *Verōn*, as its position suggests, possesses more Eranian peculiarities than the others, such as the frequent change of *d* to *l*; but on the other hand, it sometimes agrees in phonetic details with the Dard group where the other Kāfir languages differ from it.² Regarding *Aškund*, or the language of the "Bare Mountain", nothing is known except the name and its meaning, together with the fact that it is spoken to the south-west of the Prēsun country. *Pašai*, a name which is possibly derived from "Piśāca", is the speech of the Dēhgāns of Laymān, and of the country to the east of it as far as the River

¹ LSL. II, i, 34. The only parallel that I have been able to find in an Oriental language is the Chinese sound, which in Southern Mandarin is pronounced like an English *r*, but in Pekin as *ʃ* (Mateer, xviii).

² e.g. the aspiration of a final surd, the change of *ng* to *n*, and the elision of medial *m*.

Kunar. It is also called *Laymānī* or *Dēhgānī*. It has two well-marked dialects, an eastern and a western. In the eastern dialect *s* is always changed to *χ*, a change which also occurs not only in the neighbouring dialects of the Eranian *Paštō*, but also in the *Gādī* dialect of Western *Pahāri*. *Tirāhī* is the language of people who once inhabited the *Tirāh* country, but who, in comparatively modern times, migrated to *Ningualhār*, both in *Afghanistan*. All that we know of it is a short vocabulary by Leech.¹ *Gawar-batī*, or *Gawar-speech*, is the language of the *Gawars*, a tribe living in the *Narsat* country, at the junction of the *Baṣṣal* and *Citrāl* Rivers. *Kalāṣā* is the language of the *Kalāṣā Kāfirs*, who live in the *Dōāb* between the same two rivers. *Gawar-batī* and *Kalāṣā* are both spoken in territory within the sphere of British influence, and we have more information about them than about most of the other *Kāfir* languages. Biddulph² has given a vocabulary of *Gawar-batī* under the name of *Narisatī*, and Leitner's *Dardistan* is largely taken up with information about *Kalāṣā*. All the *Kāfir* languages are strongly influenced by the neighbouring *Paštō*.³ *Paṣai*, the most southern member of the group, also shows traces of the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages of the Western *Panjab*, and *Kalāṣā*, on the other hand, is, as might be expected, influenced by *Khōwār*, the language regarding which we now proceed to speak.

39. *Khōwār*, the language of the *Khō* or *Kō* tribe, occupies a linguistic position midway between the *Kāfir* and the *Dard* group of the Modern *Pisāca* languages.⁴ It is the language of Upper *Citrāl* and of a part of *Yāsīn*, and is also called *Citrālī* or *Catrārī*. Being spoken in a tract under the British sphere of influence, we have a fair amount of information concerning it. There is a great deal about it in Leitner's *Dardistan*, under the name of "*Arnyia*", and we have grammars by Biddulph (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, cxxi) and O'Brien.⁵

40. The principal genuine language of the *Dard* group is

¹ JASB. vii, 783.

² *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, cxvi.

³ e.g. there can be little doubt but that they owe the presence of the cerebral *ṣ* to the influence of *Paštō*.

⁴ See E. Kuhn, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Hindukush Dialekte*, in *Album Kern*, 29 ff.

⁵ Published in 1895. This work would have been more valuable if the author had consulted his predecessors, Biddulph and Leitner.

Śinā,¹ the language of the Śin tribe, inhabiting the country north of Kaśmīr, including Gurēz, Drās, Cilās, and Gilgit. Full accounts of this great tribe and of its language will be found in Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* and in Leitner's *Dardistan*.² The people of Gurēz still call themselves Dards, a name which has survived from the name of the great nation, the "Derdai" of Megasthenes³ and the Daradas or Dāradas of the Mahābhārata. There are several dialects of Śinā, the most important of which are *Gilgitī* of the Gilgit valley, *Astōrī* of the Astōr valley, *Cilāsī* of the Indus valley from near Astōr to Tangir, *Gurēzī* of the Gurēz valley, and the two *Brōkpā*, or Highland, dialects of Drās and of Ḍah-Hanū. The last-named is spoken in a couple of isolated villages in Baltistān, surrounded by speakers of the Balti dialect of Tibetan. It differs so widely from even the Brōkpā of Drās that Drās and Ḍah-Hanū people have to use Balti as a *lingua franca* when they communicate with each other. The name "Dard" has been extended by Europeans to include all the Aryan languages spoken south of the Hindū Kuś, and is the basis of the word "Dardic" used alternatively as a name for Modern Piśāca.

41. *Kāśmīrī* or *Kāśīr*⁴ is the language of the valley of Kaśmīr. Its basis is a tongue closely allied to Śinā, and some of its most common words, such as the personal pronouns or words indicating close blood-relationship, are almost identical with the corresponding words in that language. But at an early date it developed a literature under Sanskrit influence, and both its vocabulary and its accidence have been strongly affected by that language or its descendants, especially the Lahndā of the Western Panjāb spoken immediately to its south. In the fourteenth century A.D. the valley was invaded by the Musalmāns, and it remained under their rule till the year 1814, when it was conquered by the Sikhs. During these five centuries the bulk of the population became converted to Islām, and a large number of Persian and (through Persian) Arabic words was added to the

¹ Mr. Grahame Bailey informs me that the word is pronounced with a cerebral *ṇ* and with the accent on the last syllable. The presence of the cerebral *ṇ* is surprising, as I have never come across that letter either in the language itself or in the closely related Kāśmīrī.

² See also, for important information regarding Brōkpā, or Highland, dialects, Shaw, "Stray Arians in Tibet," JASB. xlvii, pt. i, 26 ff.

³ McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 51.

vocabulary. Those Kāśmīris who became Musalmāns naturally borrowed most freely from this foreign source, but the speech even of those few who remained faithful to Hinduism is also infected by it. Kāśmīri has a respectable literature, and has received study at the hands of its own speakers. A grammar, on the model of the Kaumudis of India and named the *Kāśmīraśabdāmṛta*, was written about the year 1875 A.D. by Īśvara Kaula,¹ who for the first time gave the language a fairly consistent system of spelling. His system is gradually being adopted, but with most writers the spelling of Kāśmīri is still in a state of chaos. Kāśmīri varies slightly from place to place. It has one important dialect, *Kaṣṭwārī*, spoken in Kaṣṭwār (Kishtwar of the maps) to the south-east of the valley on the Upper Cināb. There are also a number of local dialects of small importance, such as *Dōḍī*, *Rāmbanī*, and *Pōgūlī*, spoken in isolated villages south of the valley, in the hills between it and the Cināb, where the latter passes through Jammū territory. Kāśmīri is the only one of the Modern Piśāca languages which has a written character. Musalmāns, who form the bulk of the population, employ a modification of the Persian character. Hindūs prefer the Śāradā character, and in this most old Kāśmīri works are written, but of late years the Nāgarī has begun to come into general use. Although Kāśmīri cannot be called a pure example of the Modern Piśāca languages, it is the only one for which we have ample materials for study. It will hence be frequently referred to in the following pages.

42. *Maiyā* may be taken as a corrupted form of Śiṇā. The River Indus, after leaving Baltistān, flows pretty nearly due west through the Cilās country till it receives the River Kandīā. From this point the joint Indus-cum-Kandīā turns to the south, and passes through a wild hill-country known as the Indus Kōhistān till it debouches on to the plains of the Panjāb. In this Kōhistān several dialects are spoken, all based upon Śiṇā, but much mixed with the Lahndā spoken to its south, and with Pāṣṭō. These dialects are collectively known as Kōhistānī, and *Maiyā*, the most important of them, may be taken as the typical example. Others, such as the *Cilīs* and *Gaurō*, are described by Biddulph in *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. None of these dialects has any known literature or written character. The Kōhistān

¹ Published by the ASB., under the editorship of the present writer, in 1898.

was for long under the domination of the Afghāns, and the main language of the country is still Pāštō, Kōhlistāni being spoken only by a few tribes who, while they have accepted Islām from their conquerors, still adhere to their ancient tongue.

43. Another Kōhlistān, that of the valleys of the Rivers Śwāt, Panjkōrā, and Kunar, lies immediately to the west of the Indus Kōhlistān. Here also Pāštō is the main language, but, exactly as in the case of the Indus Valley, there are a certain number of tribes who still speak languages that are based on Śinā, with an admixture of Pāštō and Lalindā. As a typical example we may take *Gārwi*, spoken in the north of this second Kōhlistān. Other dialects which may be mentioned are *Tōrwālī* or *Tōrwālāk*, spoken south of Gārwi, and *Bāškārik* of the upper part of the Śwāt and Panjkōrā valleys. Both of these last-named are described by Biddulph in the work already mentioned. Both Maiyā and Gārwi are mixed forms of speech, and their names will seldom be met with in the following pages.

44. Very little is known about the Modern Piśāca languages except Baṣgali and Kāšmiri. None of them really falls strictly within the definition of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and hence they will not directly form an object of study in this work. But nevertheless they have exercised such strong influence over the true Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the Himālaya, the Panjāb, Gujarāt, and the west of Central India, that some consideration of their peculiarities is a necessity, and accordingly, when such a necessity occurs, our main reliance will be placed upon the forms observable in the two languages just mentioned.

45. We have seen that the Modern Piśāca languages are divided into three groups—a western, a central language (Khōwār), and an eastern. It is important to note that the western group is much more nearly related to the eastern group than either is to Khōwār, a language which according to geographical position separates them as if it were a wedge between the two.¹ In order to show the independent position occupied by Khōwār I give the following short list of words partly based on Leitner. Beside the Khōwār terms are shown the corresponding words in two western languages, Baṣgali and

¹ This was first shown by Leitner in *The Baṣgeli Kafirs and their Language*, reprinted from the Journal of the United Service Institution of India, No. 43, Lahore, June 10, 1880.

Kalāṣā, and two eastern ones, Śiṇā and Kāśmīrī. Although Khōwār occupies this independent position, it certainly belongs to the Modern Piśāca languages, and has borrowed nothing of importance from the Talcah languages to its north.

ENGLISH.	WESTERN GROUP.		EASTERN GROUP.		KHOWAR.
	Baṣgalt.	Kalāṣā.	Śiṇā.	Kaśmīrī.	
Bad	<i>digar</i>	<i>klūca</i>	<i>kacō</i>	<i>kac^u</i>	<i>šum</i>
Behind	<i>pīor</i>	<i>pīšō</i>	<i>phattū</i>	<i>pat^u</i>	<i>ācī</i>
Black	<i>ši</i>	<i>krāna</i>	<i>kinō</i>	<i>krehun^u</i>	<i>šā</i>
Bone	<i>atī</i>	<i>atī</i>	<i>atī</i>	<i>aḍij^u</i>	<i>kol</i>
Cow	<i>gāo</i>	<i>gak</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>gāv</i>	<i>lešū</i>
Deep	<i>gurn</i>	<i>gūt</i>	<i>gutāmō</i>	<i>gūtul^u</i>	<i>kulum</i>
Dog	<i>krūi</i>	<i>šeon</i>	<i>šū</i>	<i>hūn^u</i>	<i>rēnī</i>
Eye	<i>acē</i>	<i>ēc</i>	<i>ācī</i>	<i>ach^u</i>	<i>γac</i>
Finger	<i>angur</i>	<i>angō</i>	<i>āgūi</i>	<i>ang^uj^u</i>	<i>camūt</i>
Head	<i>šui</i>	<i>šīš</i>	<i>šīš</i>	<i>šēr</i>	<i>sor</i>
Heavy	<i>gāno</i>	<i>agūroka</i>	<i>agūrū</i>	<i>gph^u</i>	<i>kāyī</i>
High	<i>drgr</i>	<i>hātala</i>	<i>utallō</i>	<i>wōtū^u</i>	<i>šang</i>
Horse	<i>wkp</i>	<i>haš</i>	<i>akpō</i>	—	<i>istor</i>
Husband	<i>mōš</i>	<i>berū</i>	<i>barō</i>	<i>bartā</i>	<i>māš</i>
Is	<i>assē</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>hanū</i>	<i>chuh</i>	<i>asur, šēr</i>
Rise	<i>uštā</i>	<i>uštī</i>	<i>uthē</i>	<i>wōth</i>	<i>rupe</i>
Silver	<i>ayū</i>	<i>rūa</i>	<i>rūp</i>	<i>rōp-</i>	<i>droxum</i>
Son	<i>pufr</i>	<i>putr</i>	<i>puc</i>	<i>pūt^u</i>	<i>jav</i>
Sour	<i>cēnai</i>	<i>cūkra</i>	<i>curkō</i>	<i>isōk^u</i>	<i>šut</i>
Star	<i>mašta</i>	<i>tarō</i>	<i>tarū</i>	<i>tārūk^u</i>	<i>istarī</i>
Stone	<i>wōtt</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>bat</i>	—	<i>bōrt</i>
Sweet	<i>macē</i>	<i>māhora</i>	<i>mōrō</i>	<i>mōdū^u</i>	<i>širīn</i>
Tongue	<i>diš</i>	<i>jip</i>	<i>jip</i>	<i>zēv</i>	<i>ligīnī</i>
Was	<i>azzi</i>	<i>asō</i>	<i>asū</i>	<i>ā^u</i>	<i>āss^ustai, ōšōi</i>

It must not be assumed that Khōwār is so different from the other Modern Piśāca languages as this table seems to show. The table indicates only points of difference and not the many points of agreement.

46. Finally, in regard to Modern Piśāca languages, it is noteworthy that they still possess many words in extremely ancient forms. Such are, for instance, Kalāṣā *kakarwak*, Veron *kakōku*, Baṣgali *kakak*, a fowl, as compared with the Vedic Sanskrit *kṛkuvākr-*; Khōwār *droxum*, silver, which preserves the Greek *δραχμή* unaltered to the present day, although even in Sanskrit it became changed to *dramma-*; Skr. *kṣīra-*, milk, Bā. *kaśir*, white (§ 290); Skr. *svasār-*, Kh. *isprūsār*, a sister.

(To be continued.)

THE RUSSIAN SEIZURE OF BARDHA'AH IN 943 A.D.

By Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

IT appears from those who have written the history of Russia that neither native nor European authorities know anything about it before the latter half of the ninth century, and that the tenth century is nearing its end before anything like firm ground is reached. Their name is by this time quite familiar to the Arabic chroniclers, and Ibn al-Athir even takes the trouble to record the commencement of the conversion of the Russians to Christianity; according to him in the year 375, i.e. 985-6 A.D., the Byzantine emperors being besieged found it necessary to invoke the aid of the king of the Russians, and offered him their sister in marriage. She declined to marry one who was not of her religion, whence this Russian king adopted Christianity, and that was how the religion began to be propagated in his country. The date of the first conversion of a Russian king given by Morfill on the authority of a Russian chronicle is within two years of that assigned by Ibn al-Athir; the former 988, the latter apparently 986; and Ibn al-Athir is here following a contemporary record. The name *Rās*, i.e. Russians, was already familiar to Ibn al-Athir's readers and indeed those of the authority whom he excerpts owing to their being mentioned by the popular poet Mutanabbi in his most celebrated poem, describing the victory won by the Hamdanide Saif al-daulah in 954 over a force mustered by the Byzantine general called the *Domesticus*, wherein according to the poet so many tribes and tongues were represented that a staff of interpreters was required. The only nation which he mentions besides *Rām*, i.e. the Byzantine Greeks, is *Rās*; and as he declares that he himself fought in the battle, mounted on a charger presented to him by his patron, Saif al-daulah, he probably deserves credit when he asserts that Russians took part in the fight. He doubtless singles them out for mention because some eleven years before they had attracted the attention of the Islamic world by that seizure of Bardha'ah in Adharbaijan with which this paper is to deal. But the name *Rās* or *Russ* was already known to geographical students in Islamic countries by the accounts of the

people which the writers on this subject had given in works dating from the latter half of the third Islamic century. These accounts have been collected and translated into various European languages; the most detailed in some ways is that of one Ibn Faḍlan, contemporary of the Caliph Muqtadir (908-32), preserved by the geographer Yaḡut; it is a traveller's tale, and deals mainly with the funeral rites, which it describes elaborately; the value of this account appears to be very slight. One that is of somewhat greater interest is to be found in the geographical work of Ibn Rusteh, an author who may be roughly dated 900 A.D. Although this description has already been rendered into English in a work by Thomsen, it will be of use for our present purpose to paraphrase it afresh, in order to compare with it what those who mixed with the Russians some half a century later learned from them about their ways and the country whence they came.¹

He starts by saying that they live in an island surrounded by a lake and that this island takes three days to traverse. Its soil is so moist that if a man sets foot upon it the earth shakes. They have a king called the Khaqan of the Russians, and they raid the Slavs, sailing in ships until they come out to their territory, whence they take them captive, and bring them to the Khazars and Bulgars, to whom they sell them. They have no cultivated territory of their own; they live entirely on what they fetch from the lands of the Slavs. When a son is born to one of them, the father presents him with a drawn sword which he lays down in front of the child, saying, "You shall inherit no property from me; your sole possession is to be what you earn for yourself with this sword." They have no agriculture nor villages, their sole occupation is trading with various furs which they sell their customers, taking in exchange coin which they tie up in their sacks. They are very cleanly in their dress, and the men wear gold bracelets; they are kind to their slaves, and dainty in their apparel, as is suitable for merchants; they have large cities, are given to good living, and are liberal to their guests; they are indeed bountiful to all strangers who take refuge with them, and allow none of their guests to suffer harm or injustice; where any such attempt is made they take the guest's part and protect him. They have swords called after

¹ *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, vii, 145.

Solomon, and if any part of the nation appeal for aid they all respond, and unite in meeting the enemy until the enemy is defeated. If one citizen brings an action against another, the king acts as judge; if he can settle the dispute, well and good; if they cannot agree to his sentence the matter is referred to their swords, and whichever sword is the sharper wins; the families of the disputants thereupon come out armed and fight; whichever gains the upper hand has the right to settle what is to happen to the other party. They have native physicians, who exercise despotic power over their kings; if the physician orders the king to sacrifice to their Creator men, women, or cattle, the king is bound to obey, and the physician takes the human being or the beast, throws a rope round the neck of the victim, and hangs it on a beam until it dies, asserting that this is a sacrifice to God. They are of great valour, and if they invade the territory of any tribe they will not turn back until they have either destroyed the tribe, or carried their women into captivity and made slaves of the men. They have enormous frames, are goodly in appearance, and bold; their enterprises whether in war or trade are all conducted in ships, not on the backs of beasts. They wear trousers so ample that as much as a hundred yards goes to the material of a pair; they are gathered up and tied above the knee. They regularly go about armed and in groups owing to the insecurity of life and property which there is among them; for if a man have a little money it is likely to excite the cupidity of his intimate associate, who will when he gets the chance kill him in order to obtain possession of it. When a grandee among them dies, they dig for him a grave like a vast mansion, and bury in it with him his clothes, the gold bracelets which he wore in his lifetime, a quantity of food with jugs of wine, and coined money; in his grave they bury, too, his favourite wife, on whom the door of the grave is closed so that she dies there.

This account clearly verges on the fabulous; in that of Istakhri, for burial, burning is substituted; according to him, in the case of the wealthy their slave-girls voluntarily throw themselves on the pyre.

Burning is also mentioned in this context by Mas'udi, who gives the date 332 (943) for his account of the Russians in his work *The Golden Meadows*, which was finished in 336. He distinguishes the Russian from the Hindu practice, as being

obligatory, whereas in the case of the Hindus it is voluntary. He mentions it in connexion with the Russians who according to him shared the town of Itil on the Lower Volga with the Jews, whose creed had been adopted by the Khazar king, some Christians, and some Slavs, who, like the Russians, were pagans. What is surprising is that Mas'udi knows of an invasion of the Moslem countries on the south-west coast of the Caspian by a Russian fleet some time after the year 300 (912), but he cannot exactly remember when. According to him the Russians had in his time exclusive command of the navigation of the Black Sea, and possessed five hundred vessels, each with a crew of a hundred men; they got into the Caspian by sailing up that arm of the Volga which discharged into the Black Sea and then sailing down the arm which discharges into the Caspian; they had, on the occasion of which he could not fix the exact date, harassed the provinces Tabaristan and Jurjan, which border the Caspian, and advanced into Adharbaijan as far as Ardabil; they had landed at Baku in the country called Shirwan. After a successful raid they occupied some islands near Baku, and thence carried on war against the Moslem shipping. On their way home the Russians were attacked on the bank of the Volga, by a force of Moslems who were inhabitants of the Khazar country, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them. Since that time, he says, there had been no raids on the part of this nation. It is hard to explain how Mas'udi, who lived in Egypt, came to hear of this raid, whereas Miskawaihi, who was in close contact with the inhabitants and even princes of the raided regions, knows nothing of it, but introduces the Russians for the first time in 332. If Mas'udi had not dated his account of the matter in the very year wherein Miskawaihi places the expedition which is to be described, we might suppose that Mas'udi was referring to it. That supposition is excluded, and indeed a later chronicler of Tabaristan, of the seventh century, gives the date 297=910 as that of a Russian expedition. "This year sixteen ships filled with Russians came to Abasgun and the adjacent coasts, and carried off or slew many Moslems. The Governor of Sari sent news of this to the Samanid ruler of Khorasan. Next year (299=911) the Russians returned in greater force, burned Sari and Panjah-hazar and carried off many prisoners. Then they sailed to Chashma-Rud, in Dailaman; but while some of them were on land a number of the people of

Gilan descended to the seashore, burned their ships, and slew those who had landed. Shirwanshah, King of the Khazars, hearing of this, intercepted such of their ships as had escaped, and destroyed them and their crews; thenceforth the marauding raids of the Russians were stopped."¹

This account seems to be a careless extract from Mas'udi, since its author confuses the King of Shirwan, according to Mas'udi a Moslem named 'Ali b. al-Haitham, with the King of the Khazars, who was a Jew. He differs from Mas'udi in placing the expedition before 300; and according to him there was a yet earlier Russian invasion of these regions in the days of Hasan b. Zaid, a ruler of Tabaristan who died 270 = 884. If there is any truth in this statement this would be the first appearance of the Russians on any stage. Mas'udi, however, seems to regard the expedition which he describes as the first time they entered into relations with the Moslems, since he makes the inhabitants of the Caspian coasts absolutely unaccustomed to such piratical enterprises, the sea having previously been used only by merchant men and fishing vessels. The King of the Khazars, whose river they had to ascend, gave the Russians permission on condition of sharing their booty to the extent of one half. Of course there is no arm of the Volga which discharges into the Black Sea: possibly Mas'udi had heard of the Don, and supposed there was connexion between those rivers. His story cannot of course be mythical, yet it is surprising that Miskawaihi, who gives a fairly detailed account of the affairs of Adharbaijan and the adjoining provinces for the thirty-six years which preceded the expedition to which we are coming, and was in touch with the princes of those regions, should apparently know nothing of it. Ibn Isfandiyar's story of an expedition in the middle of the ninth century is much less plausible. In any case since Mas'udi's account is vague, whereas Miskawaihi's is detailed, we are justified in regarding the expedition which he describes as the first entry of the Russians into oriental politics.

In the year 332 of the Hijrah, beginning September 4, 943 A.D., a Russian fleet crossed the Caspian, and seized the city Bardha'ah in the province Adharbaijan. This province was for the time being in the power of the Salar Marzuban b. Mohammed b. Musafir, who had become possessed of it in 941

¹ E. G. Browne, *Ibn Isfandiyar*, p. 199.

after a complicated series of events which need not now concern us. We are told that this prince was an adherent of the sect called *Baṭiniyyah*, which is usually applied to some form of Shi'ism. The Caliphate was at this time undergoing the worst of the throes which resulted two years later, in the establishment of the Buwaihid empire; hence it was an opportune time for any external enemy to attack an outlying portion of the old dominion of the Caliphs. The expedition, of which, as will be seen, a fairly detailed account has been preserved, bears some resemblance to the first historical appearance of the Teutons in the time of Marius; we see for the first time on the scene a nation destined to play a part of tremendous importance later on. The account which I shall now translate is from a MS. which is on the eve of publication,¹ being the chronicle of Miskawaihi, who was contemporary with the events recorded and was in the service of the Buwaihid princes; it will be seen from the narrative, that he heard about it from persons who had actually witnessed the events. The excerpt which Ibn al-Athir, whose chronicle is here based on Miskawaihi, gives of the expedition is very meagre; and I fancy that much attention has not hitherto been called in Europe to this appearance of the Russians in a field where even in our time they were till recently struggling.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPLOITS OF THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR ISSUE.

They are a mighty nation with vast frames and great courage. They know not defeat, nor does any of them turn his back till he slay or be slain. It is the practice of the individual among them to carry his armour, while bearing suspended upon his person an artisan's outfit, axe, saw, hammer and the like. He fights with spear and shield; he wears a sword, and has hung upon him a lance and an instrument resembling a poniard. They fight on foot, especially these invaders. For, indeed, after sailing the sea which washes their country² they crossed to a vast river called the Kur, which has its source in the mountains of Adharbaijan and Armenia, and flows into this sea. It is the river of Bardha'ah, which they compare to the Tigris. When they reached the Kur they were met by Marzuban's³ officer who served as his governor of

¹ i.e. the printed text. The Gibb Trust has already published the facsimile. See vi, p. 100 fol.

² The Caspian.

³ Marzuban b. Mohammed b. Musafir was supreme throughout Adharbaijan.

Bardha'ah at the head of three hundred Dailemites and about the same number of Şu'luks and Kurds. He also summoned the people of the place to arms, and was joined by some 5,000 volunteers anxious to fight these invaders. They were, however, under a delusion, not knowing the strength of the Russians, whom they expected to behave like Greeks or Armenians. When they met them in battle not more than an hour elapsed before the Russians made a fierce onslaught which routed the army of Bardha'ah; the volunteers and the rest of the troops turned their backs with the exception of the Dailemites, who stood their ground, and were killed to a man, except such of them as were mounted. The Russians then pursued the fugitives to the town, whence every one, soldier or civilian, who had a mount to carry him fled, leaving the town to be entered and seized by the Russians.

I was informed by Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Nudar and a number of careful inquirers how the Russians when they hurried into the town made a proclamation to the following effect to the citizens: "There is no dispute between us on the matter of religion; we only desire the sovereignty; it is our duty to treat you well and yours to be loyal to us." The armies, however, came against them from all sides, only to be routed by the Russians, who made sorties. When the Moslems charged the Russians, the people of Bardha'ah cried out *Allah Akbar*, and flung stones at the Russians. The latter had charged the people of Bardha'ah to restrain themselves and not interfere between them and the Sultan,¹ but though this advice was accepted by the respectable classes, the common people and the rabble, would not restrain themselves, but gave vent to their feelings by attacking the Russians when the followers of the Sultan charged them. After a time they issued a proclamation that none of the original inhabitants were to remain in the town, after three days from the day of the proclamation. All who had mounts to carry them, their womenfolk and their children, left the place. These, however, were a small minority; when the fourth day came the majority were still there; so the Russians put them to the sword, slaughtering countless numbers. After the massacre they bound over ten thousand men and lads with their womenfolk, their wives and their daughters; they proceeded to place the women and children in a fortress within the city called locally

¹ i.e. the Moslem government.

Shahristan, where they had taken up their quarters, lodged their troops and entrenched themselves. They then gathered the men into the Public Mosque, set guards at the doors and bade the men ransom themselves.

ACCOUNT OF A SOUND SCHEME SUGGESTED BY ONE OF THEM, WHICH THEY DECLINED TO FOLLOW, IN CONSEQUENCE WHEREOF THEY WERE MASSACRED AND THEIR GOODS AND FAMILIES WERE PILLAGED.

There was in the place a Christian clerk of sound judgment named Ibn Sam'un, who acted as negotiator between the parties, and made an arrangement with the Russians, whereby each man should be ransomed for twenty dirhems. The wiser among the Moslems acceded to this arrangement, but the others disapproved, holding that it was Ibn Sam'un's purpose to equalize the Moslems with the Christians as payers of poll-tax.¹ Ibn Sam'un, therefore, broke off negotiations; the Russians delayed their massacre hoping to get this trifling amount from their intended victims. When it was not forthcoming they put them to the sword, and indeed slew them to the last man except a few who got away in a narrow conduit which conveyed water to the Mosque, and such as purchased their lives with hoards which they happened to possess. It happened in some cases that a Moslem arranged with a Russian to buy his life for a certain sum, and went with the Russian to his house or shop. When he produced his hoard, and it turned out to be more than the sum which he had covenanted to pay, the Russian would not let him keep it, not even if it were many times more than the amount, but kept raising his demands till he had ruined the man; only when the Russian was convinced that nothing remained to him, no gold, silver, bedding or clothing, would he let him go, giving him a piece of stamped clay to serve as a safe-conduct. Thus the Russians possessed themselves of a vast amount of property. They retained the females and lads, on whom they gratified their lusts, and whom they enslaved.

When the terrible nature of the calamity was realized, and the Moslems in the different countries heard about it, they called

¹ Probably this is corrupt for a word meaning "ransom", since a single payment could not well be called "poll-tax", and the Islamic law assesses at different rates the lives of different religious communities.

for a general expedition. Marzuban b. Mohammed mustered his troops, and called for a general enlistment. Volunteers joined him from all directions. He marched at the head of 30,000 men, but in spite of the numbers that he had gathered, he was unable to make head against the Russians or to produce any effect upon them. Morning and evening he used to attack them, and regularly retire defeated. The war continued to be waged in this style for many days, and the Moslems were always the vanquished.

When the Moslems found themselves unable to deal with the Russians, and Marzuban began to realize the situation, he had recourse to strategy. It so happened that when the Russians had got into Bardha'ah¹ they indulged excessively in the fruit of which there are numerous sorts there.² This produced an epidemic among them, as theirs is an exceedingly cold country, where no tree grows, and the little fruit which they have is imported from distant regions. When their numbers began thereby to be reduced, Marzuban, seeking for a stratagem, bethought him of laying an ambush for them at night. He, therefore, arranged with his army that they should make a hurried attack; when the Russians charged, he with his followers should let themselves be routed, thereby encouraging them to hope that they would be able to annihilate the Moslem army; when the Russians got beyond the place where the ambush lay, Marzuban with his followers should return to the charge and shout to the ambush a cry on which they had agreed; when the Russians had thus got between the two forces, the Moslems would have them in their power.

The morning after this scheme had been arranged, Marzuban, with his followers, advanced, and the Russians came out to meet them. Their commander was mounted on an ass, and his followers came out and ranged themselves in order of battle. The usual procedure occurred. Marzuban, with the Moslems, took to flight, and were pursued by the Russians till they had got beyond the place of the ambush. Only the Moslems continued their flight.

Marzuban afterwards narrated how, when he saw his followers

¹ The text has Maraghah, but it is not stated that they overran all Adharbaijan; this seems, therefore, to be a scribe's error.

² Moses of Khorene mentions olives and cucumbers.

act thus, and his earnest entreaties to them to renew the fight were unavailing, owing to the terror of the Russians which had seized their hearts, he recognized that if this went on the Russians on their return would not fail to notice the ambush, which would in consequence be destroyed. So, he said, I turned round myself with my personal attendants, my brother, my staff, and my retainers, having made up my mind to die a martyr's death. Thereupon most of the Dailemites were shamed into doing the like; we charged, cried out to the ambush, which issued forth behind the Russians, fought them in brave style, and killed seven hundred of them, including their commander; the remainder made their way into the fortress in the town where they had established their quarters and whither they had moved a quantity of food and stores, and where they housed their captives and their treasures.

While Marzuban was besieging them, with no other plan than to reduce them by protracted siege, news reached him that Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Sa'id b. Hamdan¹ had entered Adharbaijan and reached Salmas, where he had united forces with Ja'far b. Shakkuyah, the Kurd who was at the head of the Hadayan² hordes. Marzuban was therefore compelled to leave one of his officers to fight the Russians with five hundred Dailemites, fifteen hundred Kurdish horsemen, and two thousand volunteers; he himself proceeded to Auran,³ where he met Abu 'Abdallah. An insignificant engagement ensued, when there was a heavy snowfall; the followers of Abu 'Abdallah, most of whom were Arabs, became disorderly, and deserted him; he, in consequence, made for one of the fortified cities, but was met on the way by a dispatch from his cousin Naşir al-daulah, informing him of the death of Tuzun, in Baghdad, and the desertion of Tuzun's troops to himself, and of his determination to descend with them to Baghdad, in order to fight Mu'izz al-daulah, who had entered and taken possession of the city after Tuzun's

¹ He had been Naşir al-daulah's minister of public security there in 326 (i, 404).

² In Ibn Hauqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 156, the name is spelt Hadnaniyyah. They are said (ibid. 239) to be quartered at Ushnuh, near Urmiah. In the list of Kurdish tribes given by Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, pp. 553-92, neither of these names figures; the nearest would appear to be Danan, but its location is very different.

³ This place is not mentioned by Yaqut. Azan, near Salmas, on the modern maps, seems likely to be meant.

departure upstream. He therefore ordered Abu 'Abdallah to evacuate Adharbaijan and rejoin him, which he did.

The followers of Marzuban continued to attack and besiege the Russians till the latter grew weary. The epidemic became severe in addition. When one of them died they buried with him his arms, clothes, and equipment, also his wife or some other of his womenfolk, and his slave, if he happened to be attached to him; this being their practice.¹ After their power had come to an end the Moslems disturbed their graves and brought out a number of swords, which are in great demand to this day for their sharpness and excellence. When their numbers were reduced they left by night, the fortress in which they had established their quarters, carrying on their backs all they could of their treasure, gems and fine raiment, and burning the rest. They dragged with them such women, boys, and girls as they wanted, and made for the Kur, where the ships in which they had issued from their homes were in readiness with their crews, and three hundred Russians whom they had been supporting with portions of their booty. They embarked and departed, and God saved the Moslems from them.

From persons who witnessed these Russians I heard wonderful stories of their prowess and contempt of the Moslem forces gathered against them. Thus there was a story current in the region which I heard from many persons how five Russians were assembled in a garden in Bardha'ah, one of them a beardless lad of fair countenance, the son of one of their chieftains, with some captive women. When the Moslems knew of their presence they surrounded the garden, and a large number of Dailemite and other troops came together to fight these five. They tried hard to get a single prisoner out of the number, but it was not possible, for none of them would capitulate, and they could not be killed before they had slain many times their number of the Moslems. The beardless lad was the last survivor. When he perceived that he was going to be captured he mounted a tree that was near him and kept slashing away at his vital parts with his scimitar till he fell dead.

It can obviously be no accident that this nation makes its appearance in the annals of the West and of the East at about

¹ This is recorded by the other authorities on the early Russians.

the same time; Mr. Morfill apparently quotes as the first example of the name *Russian* in a European author the form *Rosisti* used of a language which he quotes for one of the River Dnieper in a work by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus dated 950; as we have seen the events recorded by Miskawaihi took place some seven years before that date. Like the geographers he is decidedly vague as to the place whence they came; it appears to have been somewhere on the northern shores of the Caspian. This, he thinks, and not the Black Sea bounded their country. Nor does he tell us whether this was a private venture on the part of the invaders, or whether it was organized by the national government; the nature of the enterprise suggests the latter rather than the former. The complete absence of names is especially vexing, since these would have given some linguistic clues; thus a great deal is made out from the name quoted by Constantine as Russian opposed to Slavonic: the word is said by Morfill to be Scandinavian, and this confirms the tradition of a Scandinavian invasion of the Russian territory near the end of the ninth century; Russian territory meaning Novgorod and the surrounding country, which is certainly far removed from the Caspian.

The summary which follows later in Miskawaihi's history states that the Russians had at the time no religion; the detailed account is less trenchant, merely saying that the invaders made no attempt at proselytizing, and only aimed at sovereignty; which last detail has the appearance of being etymological, since the word *Rus* in Arabic suggests a familiar group of words which signify headship. That resemblance cannot well be held to have suggested the form *Rus* in lieu of *Russ*, since we find the former in the geographies which are some decades of years earlier, and Constantine's form *Rosisti* has the long vowel, which perhaps may come from the tribal name mentioned in Ezekiel, which some have connected with the Russians. The account of Ibn Rusteh implies that they had a religion, involving human sacrifices; as the medicine men, who according to him were all-powerful in the country, were clearly priests.

The detail given by Miskawaihi that the Russian soldier besides his weapons habitually carried about with him various artisan's tools, is similar to what is stated by Ibn Fāḍlan; even

in our own time the carrying powers of the Russian soldier are said to be exceedingly great. When their accoutrements are compared in the summary to those of the Dailemites, the author appears to refer in the first place to their being infantry; at times we find that in spite of the incessant disputes between the Dailemites and the Turkish elements in the armies of the time, the Dailemites could not dispense with the Turks, who provided the cavalry. The Dailemites were also exceedingly hardy, and when battles had to be decided by a question of endurance of privation it was found that the Turks gave way long before the Dailemites. A contemporary who describes how he once passed himself off as a Dailemite at the court of Abu'l-Qasim Baridi, who for a time was in possession of Basrah, states that in order to do so he purchased a couple of mules and a set of javelins with armour and a soldier's kit; and that he arranged his hair in the style of the Jil and the Dailemites, which he does not further explain. The other details which this person gives of the mode wherein he passed for a Dailemite illustrate their manners rather than their equipment. One of the requisites was to consume quantities of garlic, taking nothing to mollify the consequences for the breath; the other was to catch and kill flies in the presence of the governor, which apparently was not in accordance with the usual etiquette.

The statement about the funeral ceremonies is similar to that of Ibn Rusteh, though it appears to imply rather less; Miskawaihi states from personal knowledge that the warrior's sword was buried with him, but as he says nothing of jewels or money being unearthed he can scarcely be cited as evidence for this practice; on the other hand, he agrees that the wife of the deceased warrior was buried with him, and the fact that the swords were unearthed afterwards shows that burial and not burning was the custom with this division of the nation. The custom is, of course, recorded of other primitive races; and indeed of the Scythians, who are thought to be remote ancestors of the Russians; Mr. Morfill quotes a description of the opening of a tomb in this region, which confirmed the account given by Herodotus of the practice.

It is characteristic of the objective and judicial attitude assumed by the historian Miskawaihi that he uses few or no harsh words about these invaders. It appears from his chronicle

that owing to the absence of any central authority, the province Adharbaijan had been the prey of a number of adventurers, and so little co-operation was there between the Islamic rulers, that while the person in possession of the province was endeavouring to recover the city from these powerful invaders, he found himself attacked in the rear by a Moslem prince. He holds that the citizens who took an active part against the invaders after they had accepted this foreign domination were the mob, not the educated class; and he attributes the failure of the Christian negotiator to obtain reasonable terms after the inhabitants had definitely sided with their former ruler against the Russians, to an unreasonable suspicion on the part of the Moslems. In what language this Christian clerk communicated with the Russian invaders is not stated; we may suspect that it was Greek.

It is not clear that Bardha'ah ever recovered from what it underwent during this period. The notices of the place which have been collected from Armenian historians are all earlier than the Russian invasion: they are not consistent with regard to the names either of the province to which it should be assigned or of the people who lived there: an attempt was made by a bishop to unite them (ecclesiastically) with the Armenians. In Yaqut's time, i.e. about 1200 A.D., it was a village of no consequence. If it was on the River Kur, as Miskawaihi states, that region appears to have entered Russian possession in the year 1813. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it is described as a wretched village, the inhabitants having been forced to emigrate by the constant wars of Georgians, Russians, and Persians.

FURTHER POEMS BY PO CHU-I, AND AN EXTRACT
FROM HIS PROSE WORKS, TOGETHER WITH TWO
OTHER T'ANG POEMS

Translated by ARTHUR WALEY

"Pour bien connoître en quoi consiste la beauté de la Poésie Chinoise, il faudroit posséder leur langue; et comme la chose n'est pas aisée, aussi ne peut-on guères en donner qu'une idée fort superficielle."—*Du Halde*, Tom. iii, p. 290.

INTRODUCTION

IN *170 Chinese Poems*¹ I have given an account of Po Chü-i's life and translations of over sixty of his poems.

Here are twenty-two further poems, of which all but one are now translated for the first time. The exception is No. 19, of which Pfizmaier gives a very inaccurate version in *Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, xxxvi (1888), p. 239.

The poems are followed by a rather dull ghost-story. It is the remote ancestor of the tales translated by Professor Giles under the title "*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*".

P'u Sung-ling, 蒲松齡, the author of the "*Strange Stories*", was born 850 years later than Po Chü-i. Their style is not dissimilar, though the later writer is generally more allusive. I conclude my article with two characteristic T'ang poems, one by Li Po (李白), the other by Tu Fu (杜甫). These will enable the reader to estimate the immense originality of Po Chü-i, who almost alone of T'ang poets, avoided the pedantry of obscure literary allusion.

1. *Lazy Man's Song*

(Circa 810 A.D.)

I have got patronage, but am too lazy to use it;
I have got land, but am too lazy to farm it.
My house leaks; I am too lazy to mend it;
My clothes are torn; I am too lazy to darn them.
I have got wine, but am too lazy to drink;
So it's just the same as if my cellar were empty.
I have got a harp, but am too lazy to play;
So it's just the same as if it had no strings.

¹ Constable, 1918.

My wife tells me there is no more bread in the house;
I want to bake, but am too lazy to grind.
My friends and relatives write me long letters;
I should like to read them, but they're such a bother to open.
I have always been told that Chi Shu-yeh,¹
Passed his whole life in absolute idleness.
But he played the harp and sometimes transmuted metals,
So even *he* was not so lazy as I.

2

(Circa 812.)

Illness and idleness give me much leisure.
What do I do with my leisure, when it comes?
I cannot bring myself to discard inkstone and brush;
Now and then I make a new poem.
When the poem is made, it is slight and flavourless,
A thing of derision to almost every one.
Superior people will be pained at the flatness of the metre;
Common people will hate the plainness of the words.
I sing it to myself, then stop and think about it . . .

The Prefects of Soochow and P'eng-ts'ê²
 Would perhaps have praised it, but they died long ago.
 Who else would care to hear it?
 No one to-day except Yüan Chên,
 And he is banished to the city of Chiang-ling,
 For three years an usher in the Penal Court.
 Parted from me by three thousand leagues
 He will never know even that the poem was made.

3. Parting from the Winter Stove

On the fifth day after the rise of Spring,
Everywhere—the season's gracious attitudes!
The white sun gradually lengthening its course,
The blue-grey clouds hanging as though they would fall;
The last icicle breaking into splinters of jade;
The new stems marshalling red sprouts.
The things I meet are all full of gladness;
It is not only *I* who love the Spring.

¹ Also known as Chi K'ang, a famous quietist.

² Wei Ying-wu, 8th cent. A.D., and T'ao Ch'ien, 365-427 A.D.

To welcome the flowers I stand in the back garden;
 To enjoy the sunlight I sit under the front eaves.
 Yet still in my heart there lingers one regret;
 Soon I shall part with the flame of my red stove!

4. Winter Night

(Written during his retirement in 812.)

My house is poor; those that I love have left me;
 My body is sick; I cannot join the feast.
 There is not a living soul before my eyes,
 As I lie alone locked in my cottage room.
 My broken lamp burns with a feeble flame;
 My tattered curtains are crooked and do not meet.
 "Tsek, tsek" on the door-step and window-sill
 Again I hear the new snow fall.
 As I grow older, gradually I sleep less;
 I wake at midnight and sit up straight in bed.
 If I had not learned the "art of sitting and forgetting",¹
 How could I endure this utter loneliness?
 Stiff and stark my body cleaves to the earth;
 Unimpeded my soul yields to Change.²
 So has it been for four long years,
 Through one thousand and three hundred nights!

5. Visiting the Hsi-lin Temple

(Written during his exile.)

I dismount from my horse at the Hsi-lin Temple;
 I throw the porter my slender riding-whip.
 In the morning I work at a Government office-desk;
 In the evening I become a dweller in the Sacred Hills.
 In the second month to the north of Kuang-lu
 The ice breaks and the snow begins to melt.
 On the southern plantation the tea-plant thrusts its sprouts;
 Through the northern sluice the veins of the spring ooze.

* * * * *

This year there is war in An-hui,
 In every place soldiers are rushing to arms.

¹ Yen Hui told Confucius that he had acquired the "art of sitting and forgetting". Asked what that meant, Yen Hui replied, "I have learnt to discard my body and obliterate my intelligence; to abandon matter and be impervious to sense-perception. By this method I become one with the All-Pervading".—*Chuang Tzŭ*, cap. vi.

² "Change" is the principle of endless mutation which governs the Universe.

Men of learning have been summoned to the Council Board;
 Men of action are marching to the battle-line.
 Only I, who have no talents at all,
 Am left in the mountains to play with the pebbles of the stream.

6. Hearing the Early Oriole

(Written in exile.)

The sun rose when I was still lying in bed;
 An early oriole sang on the roof of my house.
 For a moment I thought of the Royal Park at dawn
 When the Birds of Spring greet their Lord from his trees.
 I remembered the days when I served before the Throne
 Pencil in hand, on duty at the Ch'êng-ming;
 At the height of spring, when I paused an instant from work,
 Morning and evening, was *this* the voice I heard?
 Now in my exile the oriole sings again
 In the dreary stillness of Hsün-yang town . . .
 The bird's note cannot really have changed;
 All the difference lies in the listener's heart.
 If he could but forget that he lives at the World's end,
 The bird would sing as it sang in the Palace of old.

7. Dreaming that I went with Li and Yü to visit Yüan Chên

(Written in exile.)

At night I dreamt I was back in Ch'ang-an:
 I saw again the faces of old friends.
 And in my dreams, under an April sky,
 They led me by the hand to wander in the spring winds.
 Together we came to the village of Peace and Quiet;
 We stopped our horses at the gate of Yüan Chên.
 Yüan Chên was sitting all alone;
 When he saw me coming, a smile played on his face.
 He pointed back at the flowers in the western court;
 Then opened wine in the northern summer-house.
 He seemed to be saying that neither of us had changed;
 He seemed to be regretting that joy will not stay;
 That our souls had met only for a little while,
 To part again with hardly time for greeting.
 I woke up and thought him still at my side;
 I put out my hand; there was nothing there at all.

8.

[Having completed the fifteenth volume of his works, the poet sends it to his friends Yüan Chên and Li Chien, with a jesting poem.]

(Written in 817.)

My long poem, the "Eternal Grief", is a beautiful and moving work:

My ten "Songs of Shensi" are models of tunefulness.

I cannot prevent Old Yüan from stealing my best rhymes;

But I earnestly beg Little Li to respect my ballads and songs.

While I am alive, riches and honour will never fall to my lot;

But well I know that after I am dead, the fame of my books will live.

This random talk and foolish boasting forgive me, for to-day

I have added volume fifteen to the row that stands to my name.

9. Invitation to Hsiao Chü-Shih¹

(Written when Governor of Chung-Chou.)

Within the Gorges there is no lack of men:

They are people one meets, not people one cares for.

At my front door guests also arrive:

They are people one sits with, not people one knows.

When I look up, there are only clouds and trees;

When I look down—only my wife and child.

I sleep, eat, get up or sit still:

Apart from that, nothing happens at all.

But beyond the city Hsiao the hermit dwells;

And with *him* at least I find myself at ease.

For *he* can drink a full flagon of wine

And is good at reciting long-line poems.

Some afternoon, when the clerks have all gone home,

At a season when the path by the river-bank is dry,

I beg you, take up your staff of bamboo-wood

And find your way to the parlour of the Government House.

¹ Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13 were written when the poet was Governor of a remote part of Szechuan, in the extreme west of China.

10. To Li Chien

The province I govern is humble and remote;
 Yet our festivals follow the Courtly Calendar.
 At rise of day we sacrificed to the Wind God,
 When darkly, darkly dawn glimmered in the sky.
 Officers followed, horsemen led the way;
 They brought us out to the wastes beyond the town,
 Where river-mists fall heavier than rain,
 And the fires on the hill leap higher than the stars.

Suddenly I remembered the early levées at Court
 When you and I galloped to the Purple Yard.
 As we walked our horses up Dragon Tail Street
 We turned our heads and gazed at the Southern Hills.
 Since we parted, both of us have been growing old;
 And our minds have been vexed by many anxious cares.
 Yet even now I fancy my ears are full
 Of the sound of jade tinkling on your bridle-straps.

11. The Spring River

Heat and cold, dusk and dawn have crowded one upon the
 other;
 Suddenly I find it is two years since I came to Chung-chou.
 Through my closed doors I hear nothing but the morning and
 evening drum;
 From my upper windows all I see is the ships that come
 and go.
 In vain the orioles tempt me with their song to stray beneath
 the flowering trees;
 In vain the grasses lure me by their colour to sit beside
 the pond.
 There is one thing and one alone I never tire of watching—
 The spring river as it trickles over the stones and babbles
 past the rocks.

12. After Collecting the Autumn Taxes

From my high castle I look at the town below
 Where the natives of Pa cluster like a swarm of flies.
 How can I govern these people and lead them aright?
 I cannot even understand what they say.

But at least I am glad, now that the taxes are in,
 To learn that in my province there is no discontent.
 I fear its prosperity is not due to me
 And was only caused by the year's abundant crops,
 The papers that lie on my desk are simple and few;
 My house by the moat is leisurely and still,
 In the autumn rain the berries fall from the eaves;
 At the evening bell the birds return to the wood.
 A broken sunlight quavers over the southern porch
 Where I lie on my couch abandoned to idleness.

13. The Little Nun at Lung Hua Monastery

(Written circa 820.)

Delicate eyebrows, very black hair—
 This little novice of only fourteen.
 At night she is scared by the stillness of the neighbouring
 forests;
 On spring days she longs for a second meal.
 They tell me she dawdles and does not get through her tasks;
 That she gets up late and is behindhand with her prayers.
 But to me she seems like a child of the Fairy Queen
 In the Palace of Flowers, waiting for her wedding-day.

14. Good-bye to the People of Hangchow

(824 A.D.)

Elders and officers line the returning road;
 Wine and soup load the parting table.
 I have not ruled you with the wisdom of Shao Kung;¹
 What is the reason your tears should fall so fast?
 My taxes were heavy, though many of the people were poor:
 The farmers were hungry, for often their fields were dry.
 All I did was to dam the water of the lake²
 And help a little in a year when things were bad.

¹ A legendary ruler who dispensed justice sitting under a wild pear-tree.

² Po Chü-i built the dam on the Western Lake which is still known as "Po's dam".

15. Written when Governor of Soochow

(825 A.D.)

A Government building—not my own home.
 A Government garden—not my own trees.
 But at Lo-yang I have a small house
 And on Wei river I have built a thatched hut.
 I am free from the ties of marrying and giving in marriage;
 If I choose to retire, I have somewhere to end my days.
 And though I have lingered long beyond my time,
 To retire now would be better than not at all.

16. Getting up early on a Spring Morning

(Part of a poem written when Governor of Soochow in 825.)

The early light of the rising sun shines on the beams of my house;
 The first banging of opened doors echoes like the roll of a drum.
 The dog lies curled on the stone step, for the earth is wet with dew;
 The birds come near to the window and chatter, telling that the day is fine.
 With the lingering fumes of yesterday's wine my head is still heavy;
 With new doffing of winter clothes my body has grown light.

17. Losing a Slave-girl

Around my garden the little wall is low;
 In the bailiff's lodge the lists are seldom checked.
 I am ashamed to think we were not always kind;
 I regret your labours, that will never be repaid.
 The caged bird owes no allegiance;
 The wind-tossed flower does not cling to the tree.

* * * * *

Where to-night she lies none can give us news,
 Nor any knows, save the bright, watching moon.

18. To a Talkative Guest

The town-visitor's easy talk flows in an endless stream;
 The country host's quiet thoughts ramble timidly on.
 "I beg you, sir, do not tell me about things at Ch'ang-an;
 For you entered just when my harp was tuned and lying
 balanced on my knees."

19. The Pine-tree in the Courtyard

Below the hall

The pine-trees grow in front of the steps,
Irregularly scattered—not in ordered lines.

Some are tall and some are low:

The tallest of them is six roods high;

The lowest is not more than ten feet.

They are like wild things

And no one knows who planted them.

They touch the walls of my blue-tiled house;

Their roots are sunk in the terrace of white sand.

Morning and evening they are visited by the wind and moon;

Rain or fine—they are free from dust and mud.

In the gales of autumn they whisper a vague tune;

From the suns of summer they yield an icy shade.

At the height of spring the fine evening rain

Fills their leaves with a load of hanging pearls.

At the year's end the time of great snow

Stamps their branches with a fret of glittering jade.

Of the Four Seasons—each has its own mood;

Among all the trees none is like another.

Last year, when they heard I had bought this house,

Neighbours mocked and the World called me mad—

That a whole family of twice ten souls

Should move house for the sake of a few pines!

Now that I have come to them, what have they given me?

They have only loosened the buckles of my care.

Yet even so, they are "profitable friends"¹

And fill my need of "converse with wise men".

Yet when I consider how, still a man of the world,

In belt and cap I scurry through dirt and dust,

From time to time my heart twinges with shame

That I am not fit to be master of my pines!

20. A Mad Poem addressed to my Nephews and Nieces

(Circa 840.)

The World cheats those who cannot read;

I, happily, have mastered script and pen.

¹ See Analects of Confucius, 4 and 5, where three kinds of "profitable friends" and three kinds of "profitable pleasures" are described; the third of the latter being 多賢友 "plenty of intelligent companions".

The World cheats those who hold no office;
 I am blessed with high official rank.

The old are often ill:

I at this day have not an ache or pain.

They are often burdened with ties;

But I have finished with marriage and giving in marriage.

No changes happen to disturb the quiet of my mind;

No business comes to impair the vigour of my limbs.

Hence it is that now for ten years

Body and soul have rested in hermit peace.

And all the more, in the last lingering years

What I shall need are very few things.

A single rug to warm me through the winter;

One meal to last me the whole day.

It does not matter that my house is rather small;

One cannot sleep in more than one room!

It does not matter that I have not many horses;

One cannot ride in two coaches at once!

As fortunate as me among the people of the world

Possibly one would find seven out of ten.

As contented as me among a hundred men

Look as you may, you will not find one.

In the affairs of others even fools are wise;

In their own business even sages err.

To no one else would I dare to speak my heart,

So my wild words are addressed to my nephews and nieces.

21. Illness

(Written circa 842, when he was paralysed.)

Dear friends, there is no cause

For so much sympathy.

I shall certainly contrive from time to time

To take my walks abroad.

All that matters is an active mind:

What is the use of feet?

By land one can ride in a carrying-chair;

By water, be rowed in a boat.

22. Resignation

Keep off your thoughts from things that are past and done;
For thinking of the past wakes regret and pain.
Keep off your thoughts from thinking what will happen;
To think of the future fills one with dismay.
Better by day to sit like a sack in your chair;
Better by night to lie like a stone in your bed.
When food comes, then open your mouth;
When sleep comes, then close your eyes.

Record of a Strange Experience

About 36 miles south-east of Hsia-kuei-hsien in Hua-chou there is a village called Yen-nien. South-west of the village stands what was once a private chapel; but now no priest lives there. In the autumn of the 18th year of Yüan Ho (813 A.D.), in the seventh month, my cousin Hao came from Hua-chou to visit me, by the road which passes the chapel. When he reached the chapel-door he saw a number of women and girls of various ages sitting and talking in the chancel, so loudly that their conversation was audible at the door.

Being hot and thirsty with riding he determined to go inside and rest for a little, and ask for something to drink. Finding that his attendant, Hsiao Shih-ch'ing, was not in sight, he dismounted and tied his horse's bridle to the door-post. When he looked up, the women had all disappeared! He thought they had retired into the inner room, but when he looked there he found no one. Then he thought perhaps they were behind the altar-wall; but when he looked there, again he found no one. He then examined the walls all the way round the building and found that there was no breach or gap anywhere. He went back to the place where he had first seen them conversing: the dust on the floor had not been disturbed, there was not a foot-print anywhere.

Then he knew that the people he had seen were not human beings. He was too much frightened to wait for his servant. Mounting his horse he galloped straight to my house and told me what had happened. I too was astonished and questioned him about what he had heard the apparitions say. He was able to

remember a good deal, more than I have space to repeat. Most of it was about an old man called Wang Yin. As far as could be made out from what they said, they seemed to be drawing up a list of Wang's misdeeds.

The place is about a mile and three-quarters from my house, so one day we went there together. We discovered that there had actually lived in the village an old man called Wang Yin, who made up his mind to live in a building which lay a few hundred paces east of the chapel. He repaired the garden walls and house, built a threshing-floor, planted trees, and the day after his operations were completed, immediately moved in. He had not been in the house an hour when he fell dead. By next day his wife was dead, and in a very short time two of his sons with their wives and one grandson were also dead. There only remained one son, called Ming-chin, who was so unnerved that he did not know what to do. However, thinking that the site was in some way unlucky, he pulled down the house, felled the trees, removed in the night, and eventually came to no harm.

Such an episode as this convinces me that there may after all be some truth in the story of how the ghosts of the assembled Sages were overheard in the temple plotting the death of Ts'ao Ts'ao,¹ and in the story of the lady who was sent to burn Mi Chu's house.²

In the autumn of the next year my cousin and I, in the course of an excursion, again visited the place. There was nothing left of Wang's house except the garden walls. The well had collapsed and the fire-place was in ruins. No one from the village dared to settle there.

Ihu! To what agency must we attribute these occurrences? To Destiny—or to Chance? Was the site inauspicious for human habitation or had the Wang family committed some secret crime for which the spirits had determined it must pay the penalty?

To these questions I can find no answer, but have inscribed the story on the wall of the shrine, that it may await the discrimination of the curious.

¹ 155-220 A.D., founder of the Wei dynasty.

² Mi Chu (3rd cent. A.D.) was going home one day when a mysterious lady stopped him on the road and told him she was a spirit sent by Heaven to burn his house. Following her advice, he hurried on ahead and had just time to save his furniture before his house burst into flames.

A Poem by Li Po

愁	荷	南	泳	泳
殺	花	湖	小	小
蕩	嬌	采	明	曲
母	欲	白	秋	
人	語	蘋	月	

This is translated by Judith Gautier, *Livre de Jade* (2nd ed.), p. 29, as follows:—

Fleur Défendue

Sous la claire lune d'automne, l'eau agitée secoue ma barque.
Solitaire, je vogue sur le lac du Sud, et je cueille des lotus
blancs. Oh! qu'elle est belle, la blanche fleur du lotus!—
Qu'elle est délicate et délicate! Un ardent désir me dévore
de lui avouer la passion qu'elle m'inspire—
Hélas une tristesse mortelle submerge mon cœur—l'embarcation
s'en va à la dérive, sur les eaux narquoises, qui s'en font un
jouet.

The same poem is translated by Anna von Bernhardi (Mitth. d. Sem. f. Or. Sprachen, 1916, p. 123)—

Auf dem grünen Wasser leuchtet die Herbstsonne; [reading
□, not 月] auf dem südlichen See pflückt er die weissen Blüten.
Die Lotosblumen wollen ihm hold zusprechen, aber Kummer tötete
den Schiffenden.

Notes

Title: The Lü-shui 泳水 was a tributary of the Hsiang 湘 River in Hunan. The "Ballad of Lü-shui" was the name of an ancient harp-tune. Li Po has taken this as the title of his poem. The Nan-hu must have been a small lake in the vicinity. The lady (the *er* of the German version is certainly a mistake) on an autumn night when the moon is shining on the Lü River, goes to the Southern Lake to pluck white p'in-flower or "frog-bite". These were common marsh-flowers plucked by women in the autumn as love-charms. Suddenly she sees some lotus-flowers. Judith Gautier identifies the 白蘋 with the 荷花, but the contrast between them is in reality the whole point of the poem.

"The lotus-flowers are so beautiful that they almost speak." There must here be an allusion to the well-known story of the Emperor Ming Huang (685-762 A.D.). One day when he was

walking in his garden he saw some white lotus-flowers just coming into bloom. Pointing to his favourite concubine, Yang Kuei-fei, he exclaimed, "Here I have a flower that is better than those lotuses, for she is a living flower that can speak 解語花."

The lady in the boat is grieved at the sight of the lotuses because they are not like ordinary speechless flowers, but actually challenge comparison with the "living and speaking beauty" of a woman. But there is a further point. P'in-flowers are used as a charm to retain the affections of absent lovers. From the fact that the lady was gathering such flowers we may infer that she was parted from her lover and was afraid he might not be faithful. The sight of the lotuses reminds her that there are other women more beautiful than she is, just as the lotus is more beautiful than the common frog-bite.

I would therefore translate as follows:—

"Ballad of Lü Water.

On Lü Water shines the autumn moon;
On the South Lake she plucks white p'in-flowers.
But the lotus-flowers are so beautiful that they seem to speak;
And the lady of the floating boat is stricken with grief."

I do not think that anyone familiar with T'ang 絕句 will consider this interpretation too elaborate.

A Poem by Tu Fu¹

Kao Hsien-chih 高仙芝 was the son of a Korean who had served with distinction in the Chinese army. Hsien-chih himself became a general at the age of 20, and later, Assistant Military Protector of Turkestan 安西副都護. In 747 A.D. (*vide* Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 152) he distinguished himself by leading a Chinese army over the Hindu Khush and obtaining the submission of the king of Little Pu-lü 勃律 (modern district of Gilgit). He encountered no military opposition, and the feat was one of diplomacy rather than of arms. In 749 he returned to the capital, Ch'ang-an, bringing with him a Tartar charger of the kind known as 青驄馬. In 750 he was back again in Turkestan, and in 751 was heavily defeated by the Arabs on the banks of the River Talas. "Le désastre éprouvé par Kao Sien-tche sur les bords de la rivière Talas marque la fin de la puissance des Chinois dans les pays d'occident" (Chavannes,

¹ This poem has not been translated before.

loc. cit., p. 298). The poem I am about to translate was written by Tu Fu (712-770 A.D.), one of the most celebrated of Chinese poets. It deals nominally with Kao Hsien-chih's Tartar horse, but the inner meaning of it (as all the commentators agree) is something of this kind: "Why has this able and distinguished general so long been allowed to live in retirement? Why is he not encouraged to repeat his former victorious exploits?" This could not have been written in the interval between Hsien-chih's two campaigns, for he was only at the capital for a few months. It must therefore have been written after his defeat in 751. This took place in the autumn, so that he could not have been in Ch'ang-an till the spring of 752.

Of the defeat Tu Fu apparently knew nothing. Such incidents were naturally concealed as far as possible. Our own knowledge of the Talas battle is chiefly derived from Ssü-ma Kuang's History and from Arabic sources. The Old T'ang History does not mention it at all; the new history names it, but does not say which side was victorious! The Government were doubtless in possession of fuller information and had good reasons for keeping Kao on the retired list.

But his opportunity soon came. When the revolt of An Lu-shan broke out in 755, Kao Hsien-chih was summoned to defend the dynasty. In the same year the failure of the Imperial armies necessitated "penal measures", and Kao was executed.

何青走長萬五交腕猛雄飄功與此聲安高
由絲過安里花河促氣姿飄成人馬價西都
却絡掣壯方散幾蹄猶未遠惠一臨歎都護
出頭電兒看作蹴高思受自養心陣然護驄
橫爲傾不汗雲層如戰伏流隨成久來胡馬
門君城敢流滿泳踏場櫪沙所大無向青行
道老知驕血身裂鏽利恩至致功敵東驄

A Song of Kao Hsien-chih's Blue Colt

The Military Protector of An-hsi's Tartar "blue colt"—

Suddenly the noise of its reputation came flying from west to east.
It was said the enemy could not stand when this horse approached
their ranks;

By resolution as firm as its master's it had won the great fight.
 When the battle was over it was carefully tended and allowed to
 go where it would;
 Swiftly it came from a far country over deserts of shifting sand.
 But its dauntless frame would not receive the kindness of stabled
 ease;
 Its bold spirit was brooding still on the contests of the battlefield.
 Its ankles are slender, its hoofs are high; hard as though shod
 with iron;
 Hoofs that have riven the packed ice on the frozen river of
 Turfan.
 Its five-flower mane scatters in the wind and covers its flanks like
 a cloud;
 Only after the passage of a thousand leagues does its skin exude
 blood.
 The stoutest lads of Ch'ang-an dare not mount its back;
 That its gallop is swifter than the lightning's flash all the City
 knows.
 With blue tassels tied to its neck you are letting it grow old;
 Shall it never again find cause to issue by the road of the
 Western Gate?

Notes

(1) Ch'ing ts'ung 青驄, "blue piebald-horse," is apparently an abbreviated form of 青海驄, "piebald horse of Lake Kokonor." Parker, in *A Thousand Years of the Tartars* (ch. 4, The Tukung Sien-pi of Kokonor) quotes the following passage: "There is a small island in Kokonor, and every year when the lake is frozen a number of fine mares are driven on to the island: the foals are collected the following winter. A number of splendid Persian mares were obtained by the Tukung for this purpose, and their young obtained great repute for swiftness as 'Kokonor colts'." The phraseology used by Tu Fu in his account of this Tartar charger is borrowed, after the manner of T'ang poets, from various early sources: (a) The 天馬歌, "Song of the Heavenly Horse," Han dynasty. (b) Ts'ao Ts'ao's 曹操 (155-220 A.D.) poem 龜雖壽, "The tortoise, though long-lived . . ." (c) Yen Yen-chih's 顏延之 (384-456 A.D.) 赭白馬賦 "Poetical Description of a bay and white horse".

(2) 未受伏櫪恩 "has not yet received (i.e. does not desire to receive) the favour of lying down in the stable". Cf. Ts'ao

Ts'ao's poem, referred to above, "An old charger may lie down in the stable, but it would like to be galloping a thousand li. A brave warrior, though he be growing old, still preserves a stout heart."

(3) "River of Turfan." Literally Chiao-ho 交河, "The Joined Rivers," near Turfan and at that time headquarters of the military government of Turkestan, near the modern village of Yarkhoto. Sir Aurel Stein, in *Desert Cities of Cathay* gives two photos of the ruins of old Chiao-ho.

(4) 五花, "five-flower," explained as being a decorative method of cutting the horse's mane. It often means no more than "many-coloured".

(5) "The descendants of the Heavenly Horse sweat blood instead of water."

(6) The meaning is, "Just as Kao's horse cannot be ridden by the boys of Ch'ang-an, so his master is too strong and autocratic a character to use in a governmental capacity. The civilian authorities are frightened of him."

(7) 傾城知. The commentators tell us that 傾 is in the sense of 舉. The usual meaning of 傾城 is, of course, "beautiful woman."

(8) "You are letting it . . .": the 君 primarily refers to the horse's master, but it also refers to the Emperor's 君 treatment of his general.

(9) 橫門 "Hēng-mēn" was the chief western gate of Ch'ang-an, and travellers going in the direction of Turkestan would leave the city by it.

SWAHILI POETRY

By Miss ALICE WERNER, University Reader in Swahili and the
Bantu Languages

SWAHILI stands alone among the Bantu languages in possessing a literature, which originated before the people came in contact with Europeans and has probably been in existence for several centuries. The Arabs, who settled on the east coast of Africa from the seventh century onwards, brought with them their alphabet and their prosody; and their descendants who, intermarrying with the daughters of the land, evolved the Swahili language, have preserved both to this day, though not without modifications. The use of the Arabic alphabet to express Swahili sounds involves considerable difficulties, and though some of these have been surmounted by expedients similar to those adopted in writing Turkish, Persian, Malay, etc., the reading even of an ordinary letter is by no means always a simple matter.

When the Arabic alphabet was first applied to the Swahili language it is at present impossible to say. The earliest settlement seems to have been that on the island of Pate (A.D. 689). The colonists brought with them not only their written character, but a certain amount of literary culture, and the way in which Arabic metres have been adapted to the Swahili language (not only by scholars, but in popular songs) shows that they must have been naturalized for a very long period. I am not aware whether the date of any existing poetry has been satisfactorily determined. The lyrics attributed to 'Liongo Fumo,'¹ which are exceedingly archaic in language, date, if genuine, either from the sixteenth or possibly from the thirteenth century.² The Portuguese records hardly, if at all,

¹ These are very numerous. I possess a copy of a manuscript belonging to Mzee bin Mahadhoo of Shela (I believe Captain Stigand has another), as well as a series taken down from the recitation of a blind scholar at Witu, also named Mzee (bin Bisharo'l-Ausii). These are quite distinct from the poem printed in Steere's *Swahili Tales* (pp. 454-68).

² Liongo seems to be a historical person who has attracted to himself one of the many versions of the Balder Myth (see appendix to the last volume of *The Golden Bough*); he was invulnerable to everything but a copper needle applied in one particular spot. But there is some uncertainty as to his date. Some

mention the existence of the Swahili language, though the few words preserved by Sir Thomas Herbert (1627) show that it, or at all events something very similar, was spoken in the Comoro Islands three hundred years ago. All known documents of any antiquity appear, like the "Chronicle of Kilwa", to be written in Arabic.

A tantalizing reference occurs in the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*,¹ where Sir William Jones, describing a visit paid in 1783 to "the island of Hinzuwan or Johanna", says that Sayyid Ahmed, a native of that island, "gave Captain Williamson, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at Dublin, a small roll containing a hymn in Arabic letters, but in the language of Mombaza [*sic*], which was mixed with Arabic; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the Mozambique."

It is greatly to be regretted that the father of Comparative Philology should, unlike his successors, have thought so lightly of barbarous idioms, for a Swahili hymn, written down before 1783, would be a document of great interest to-day. I have made ineffectual efforts to trace the MS.—neither the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, nor that of the Royal Irish Academy appears to know anything of it.

Krapf sent to Europe two MSS of long poems (*tenzi*) which lay for a long time in the library of the German Oriental Society; the one, *Utenzi wa Shufaka* (295 stanzas), was published by the late Dr. Büttner (in his *Anthologie der Suaheli-Litteratur*, 1894), with a German translation; the other, *Chuo cha Herkal* (i.e. the Emperor Heraclius), was edited by Professor Meinhof and appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, 1912. Two other poems, the *Utenzi wa Miviraji* and the *Utenzi wa kutawafukwe Muhamadi*, were published in Büttner's collection; they were sent to him by Mr. D. J. Rankin, late British Consul,

say that he fought against the Wasegeju and the Portuguese (who were in alliance in 1589); others, whose authority seems fairly good, that Liongo's principality of Shaka (or rather that of his brother, for Liongo was not the actual chief) was conquered by Omar bin Muhammad, fifth Sultan of Pate, variously stated to have died in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344) and to have reigned from A.H. 740-95.

¹ p. 88 of the octavo edition.

Mozambique. The first relates the Prophet's night journey on Borak to Jerusalem, Hell and Paradise, the second (264 stanzas) his death. This last is exceedingly popular in East Africa, especially among the women, many of whom know passages of it by heart.

The only complete Swahili poem published in this country, so far as I am aware, is the *Inkishafi* ("Revelation"), of which two texts appear in Captain Stigand's *Grammar of the Dialectic Changes in the Kiswahili Language*, one edited and annotated by the author, the other (to which is appended a metrical translation) by the Rev. W. E. Taylor, formerly of Mombasa, and author of *African Aphorisms*.

In his preface to the last-named work, Mr. Taylor states that he possesses a collection of Swahili poems in MS. It is much to be desired that this veteran scholar should be enabled to give to the world the fruits of his long study and experience and make generally accessible at least some of the work of Sikujua, Muyaka, and Muhammad bin Ahmad'l-Mambasii beyond the fragments quoted in his book. Bishop Steere, in his *Swahili Tales*, printed the opening stanzas of an *Utenzi* on the history of Job (*Ayubu*), which is now about to be published in the *Harvard African Studies*, from a complete text obtained by me at Lamu.

Though, as we have said, the metres used were introduced by the Arabs, the accentuation and intonation of the two languages are so different that they have necessarily been handled with great freedom, and there may be some which cannot be directly traced to Arabic originals. Nothing shows so well the extent to which this imported art of versification has really taken root in the languages as the constant recurrence, in the enormous body of orally current popular songs, of two or three stanza forms which are also found in Italian folk-poetry and doubtless derived from the same source. Of these some specimens will be given presently.

I am at a loss to know why Büttner should have said, "Das Versmass ist meist jambisch oder trochäisch, dem ganzen Typus der Suahelisprache angemessen." In my experience, very few, if any poems, as read by a native, could be scanned in this way, and it is exceedingly difficult to write Swahili verse in either of these metres, without continually violating the rules of accentuation.

Steere comes nearer the truth when he says (*Swahili Tales*, Preface, p. xi) that "Swahili verse is generally marked by a sort of anapæstic accent", but the best account of the matter I have seen is that given by P. Sacleux,¹ which I make no apology for quoting in full :—

"La versification Swahilie a pour base le nombre des syllabes et des accents d'une part, la rime ou l'assonance de l'autre. L'accent, dont il est ici question, est, non pas l'accent tonique propre à chaque mot pris isolément, mais l'accent oratoire qui attribue la hauteur et la durée ordinairement à l'avant-dernière syllabe de chacun des mots principaux.

"Les vers communément employés sont de 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, et 16 syllabes : ceux de 10 syllabes avec une césure après la 4^e, ceux de 12 avec la césure après la 6^e. . . Il y a deux accents dans les vers de 3, 4, 6, et 8 syllabes, trois dans ceux de 10 syllabes, 4 dans ceux de 12 et 14.

"Le nombre de syllabes n'est pas toujours de rigueur, surtout quand le vers est un peu long. Il suffit, en ce cas, que les accents rythmiques soient observés."

The accents marked in the specimens given by this writer (pp. 328-330) agree with the way in which I have always heard verse read or recited by natives; and the conclusion I am led to adopt is that the verse is measured by beats rather than by syllables, and, in the latter, recognizes no distinction between long and short. It has thus departed considerably (as was only to be expected from the genius of the language) from the strict canons of Arabic poetry.

Swahili verse is always rhymed, though the rhymes may not always be such as would be admitted in English. The "identical rhyme" (the French *rime riche*) is very common, and many rhymes might more properly be described as "assonances", though it is usually the consonant (not, as in Spanish, the vowel) which is identical. Rhymes are always (or with very few exceptions) double; as it is a universal rule in Swahili that the accent falls on the penultimate, it could hardly be otherwise. The single rhymes necessitated by the use of European tunes in mission hymn-books (such as the Mombasa *Nyimbo na Hindi*) are obtained, either by most unwarrantably displacing the accent, or, more rarely, by making use of

¹ *Grammaire des Dialectes Swahilis* (Paris, 1900), p. 327.

monosyllabic particles (such as *tu*, "only," "merely") or words like *kuu*, *juu*, which, though really of two syllables, are apt to be pronounced as if containing a single long vowel. For instance, the Swahili version of "The Son of God goes forth to war" opens thus:—

Mwaná wa Mngu átoká
Kwenénda vítaní,
Beráinuyé amétweká,
Tumúandámení.

It has been argued that such violation of the accentual laws is quite permissible, because the thing is constantly done in native verse. Thus, the Rev. W. E. Taylor says (*African Aphorisms*, p. 88): "The rhythmical accents" (in an "old nursery song" which he quotes) "are marked according to the native air, thus showing how greatly the tonic accent may be altered for musical purposes." But the difficulty of reading some of the lines as marked suggests a doubt as to whether this writer has sometimes failed to distinguish between stress and pitch, and so taken a rising intonation for a "rhythmical accent". It is quite true that, in singing, an accent is frequently placed on a syllable which would not be stressed in ordinary speech; but in these cases the effect is quite different from that produced by the hymns intended for English "common metre" tunes. In the popular "Kiti cha maguu mané", the last syllable of the last word is accented. Further on in the same song occurs the line:

Jóngóó huváa pete, si uróngó.

Here the stress falls about equally on the three syllables of the first word; the next stress is on *vau* (two syllables pronounced as one long one), and *pete*, which would normally have the accent on the first syllable, has none at all, both *e*'s being made very short. In another song, *kinyama* ("a little animal" or "a small piece of meat", probably, in this case, the latter) has all three syllables stressed when it stands in an emphatic position at the end of the line; elsewhere it has its normal accent:

Chákulá madósha, kinyáma óndóshá.

But this musical accent does not belong to our subject, as it is distinct from the question of metre, and I have very rarely, if ever, met with any verses which, when merely read, not sung, require the accent placed otherwise than in ordinary speech.

There are in existence a number of long poems called *Tenzi* (pl. of *Utenzi*¹), which may be classed as epic and didactic, since a native authority says that an *Utenzi* deals either with "matters of war or matters of religion", and they seem almost always to be narratives. *Shairi* (شعر) is applied to most other poems, whether short lyrics or longer pieces of a didactic or religious character. For longer poems, the favourite metres are three, all used in four-line stanzas, of which three lines rhyme together, while the fourth is a continuous rhyme running through the whole poem. The first of these, exemplified in the *Utenzi wa Mwiraji*, has four beats and (generally) fourteen syllables to a line, e.g.:

Ai Muhammádi, ni uwóngo yáke khabári,
Usiku umóya wafíkía mbáli safári!
Mbingu ukazísha ukáona Mólá jabbári
Uzidie sháni, uwóngo, hasháye túma.

The second is used in the *Inkishafi*, published by the Rev. W. E. Taylor, in the appendix to Captain Stigand's *Dialect in Swahili*. The lines consist of eleven syllables, and the rhythm is marked by Mr. Taylor (p. 84) as follows:—

Aimi wa wápi || wákazindíwā,
Zilúzo za mató || wásizá-ngówá!
Wásiriye woté || kúwa máhúwá;
Léo ni waúshí || wáliúshiyé.

Here, again, it is difficult to resist a suspicion that the final syllables of *mato*, *wote*, etc., are distinguished, not by a rhythmic stress, but by a rising inflection, and that the line is really one of four beats, which a native would read:

Aími wa wápi, wákazindíwa.

The metre of this poem is similar to that of an alphabetical acrostic, written out for me by Muhamadi Kijuma of Lamu, which begins,

Andika mwandishi || khati utuze.

But the greater number of *tenzi* are written in a shorter line, having two beats only.

¹ In the Lamu dialect (in which most of these poems are written), *Utendi*, *teuli*. From the verb *tenda*, "do," "act."

Jiburili akegéma,
 Tabibu kamtezama.
 Baadaye akaséma
 Watu wákimsikía.

This is from the *Utenzi wa Shufaku*, of which more presently. The *Utenzi wa Ayubu*, the *Kutarwafukwe Muhamadi*, the *Hadithi ya Liongo*, and many others, are in the same stanza.

The shorter lyrics exhibit a variety, not so much of metre as of stanza-forms, some of which strikingly recall those found in Italian popular poetry—e.g. the *rispetto*—which is probably to be explained by a common derivation. These *mashairi* are written or improvised both by men and women, though the accomplishment is not so common as it was at Mombasa, twenty or thirty years ago. There is an immense body of verse in circulation, not easy to classify definitely into "literary" and "popular" sections; some poems which may originally have been written are now handed on by the numerous people who sing and recite them from memory, while others, orally transmitted, may have been committed to writing at a later stage. Some specimens of these, collected chiefly at Jomvu,¹ may be given here:—

Maskini, njiwa wangu	Ah! woe is me, my little dove
Alikwenda na Waarabu,	Is stolen away and sold!
Guu lakwe ni la fetha.	Her foot, it was of silver,
Bawa lakwe la thahabu.	Her wing of beaten gold.
Usinione kukonda,	Think not 'tis sickness wastes
	me—
Roho ikatika taabu.	My heart is dead and cold. ²

Somewhat different in character is:

Kwamba wanipenda,	If you (really) loved me
Enda mbiombio,	(You would) run quickly.
Limenipendeza,	It is pleasing to me,
Shada lakinukajio.	The flower which smells sweet.

¹ A few miles from Mombasa on the creek leading to Rabai.

² Literally: "Poor (me)! my pigeon went away with (has been carried off by) the Arabs. Her foot was of silver, her wing of gold. Do not think that I have grown thin (from any ordinary cause: if I look ill, it is that) my life is cut off by trouble." A different version, seemingly obtained at Zanzibar, or on the adjacent coast, is printed in Velten's *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli* (Berlin, 1907), p. 426.

Wanipa maji matupu

(But) you have given me
nothing but water

Kunisonga moyo.

To compress my heart.¹

A curious metre, recalling the Italian street-song *Margari*, is the following :—

Sijikele—

Heri, mama, kakaa,

Mwingi shere,

Waume wakuhadaa.

Enda bure,

Watama la kitambaa.

It is not easy to get a satisfactory translation of this, but its general drift seems to be a warning addressed to a girl against male perfidy—and, by a very curious coincidence, the fourth line is an almost exact equivalent to "*L'uom è traditore*" in the song above referred to. To get the cadence of these lines, one has only to read them aloud with the stress of ordinary speech—i.e. on the penultimate syllable of every word.

At the *Kibunzi* or New Year's festival (not the variable Moslem New Year, but a fixed celebration in August, supposed to be derived from the Persians), the little boys of the Koran schools go round the town carrying their writing-boards (*mbao*) decorated in various colours, and singing a song of which several versions are current. One is printed by Büttner (*Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur*,² p. 184); another, obtained at Jomvu, is as follows :—

Si zetu, si zetu

(The matters are) not ours, not
ours

Za mwalimu wetu :

(But) of our teacher.

Na panga na ngao

(We go) with swords and shields

Na kalamu zetu.

And our pens.

Tupite kwa juu,

Let us pass by (the road) above,

Twenende kwa pwani,

Let us go by the beach

Tupige makofi

And box the ears (of)

Mabanyani !

The Banyans.

¹ A common saying, cf. Taylor's *African Aphorisms*, § 299, pp. 52-3. To offer a guest "bare water", i.e. with no admixture of lime-juice, etc., or instead of tea, and without any accompanying food, is considered the extreme of stinginess and inhospitality.

² Berlin (E. Felber), 1894.

Steere (*Handbook of the Swahili Language*, p. 76), says: "Formerly no inquiry was made as to any one killed or hurt on this day, and it is still (1870) the custom to go armed and to be on the guard against private enemies. It used to be a favourite amusement to throw any Indians that could be caught into the sea, and otherwise ill-use them, until the British Government interfered for their protection."

Probably this is alluded to in the song, as dictated by some small schoolboys at Jomvu. The old headman (*mzee*) of the village, however, said this was not the correct version, and gave a very different turn (perhaps with a view to edification) to his own, which concludes:

Tupigwe makofi
Ni Mabanyani.

"We get our ears boxed by the Banyans."

In this case *mwalimu* and *kalamu* keep their Arabic accentuation the better to fit the metre: ordinarily they are heard as *mwalimu* and *kalamu*.

With regard to rhymes, Steere says: "There is a sort of rhyme made by the final syllable, which is generally the same in each line throughout the piece . . . The rhyme is to the eye more than to the ear, as all the final syllables being unaccented, the prominent sounds often destroy the feeling of rhyme. I suppose this system of identical endings is copied from the Arabic, of which the accentuation is very different."¹

An examination of the specimens already given and those presently to be given will show that this cannot be accepted quite without qualification. We find numerous examples of double rhymes quite satisfactory from any point of view—as in the old Zanzibar jingle:

Beit-il-ajab imenipendeza.	The Sultan's Palace is my delight,
Imejengwa pale chini ya gereza.	Built yonder below the Fort on the height,
Imetiwa rangi juu, imepambwa feza,	Adorned with colours and silver white;—
Na Bwana Khalidi anacheza- cheza.	Prince Khaled plays in its chambers bright.

¹ *Swahili Tales* (Preface), pp. xi-xii.

While elsewhere we get assonances like *kasema—yatima—mana, amini—jirani—watunzeni, kituo—ayaonayo—ziliyo*, etc., etc. (all from the *Kutawafu*). These would be amply accounted for on the supposition that the identity of final syllables is what constitutes the rhyme, and it is interesting to see how the genius of the language has overridden the restrictions of Arabic prosody.

It is not the case that "the final syllable is generally the same in each line throughout the piece"—indeed, Steere himself, in the passage quoted, goes on to give exceptions to this rule. We find, however, in most poems of any length, that the last line of the four-line stanza is on one rhyme through the whole poem. Thus the *Utendi wa Mwana Kuponu* (published in the *Harvard African Studies* for 1917) has the rhyme *-ia, -ya*, sometimes *-ea, -ou, -ua*: perhaps it might be more correct to say *-a*, as, being preceded by a vowel, it constitutes a distinct syllable. This is a very common arrangement: the *Shufaka*, the *Kutawafu*, and several others in my possession are all on this rhyme. The *Utenzi wa M'iraji* is on the rhyme *-ma*, and a poem attributed to Liongo, of which I have a copy, on the rhyme *-nga*.

The subject-matter of the *Tenzi* is a point of some interest. The authors of the *Shufaka*, of the *Kutawafu*, and of the *Ayubu* all state that they have found in Arabic books what they are about to relate to their readers, e.g. (*Shufaka*, 44, 45):

Mbwene hadithi ajabu	I have seen a wonderful story
Yaandishiwe maktubu	Drawn up in writing
Kusoma kwa kiarabu;	To read in Arabic—
Maana yakiniielea.	The meaning being clear to me.
Niyawenepo chuoni,	When I saw it in the book
Moyo wangu hatamani	My heart desired
Kubadili kimangani ¹	To translate it out of the Arabic,
Kwa kisawahili kuioa.	And write it in Swahili.

But it is nowhere said that they have translated *Arabic poems*, and, since none of the authorities I have consulted seem to be aware that any such poems exist, the natural conclusion seems to be that the story only was taken from the books in question,

¹ *Manga*, on the Swahili coast, means "Arabia, especially the region of Muscat" (Krapf). *Jice la Manga* is a black and very hard stone, brought over in ballast by Maskati dhows and used as millstones, etc. By an easily understood confusion and transference of ideas, the Yaos and other inland peoples of Nyasaland use *Manga* to mean "the coast" (i.e. the East African littoral).

the poetical treatment, such as it is, being entirely due to the Swahili bards themselves.

I heard, indeed, of an Arabic poem on the Mi'raj, which is read and explained on the night of that festival by those who are competent to do so and possess a copy. In 1913, when it fell on July 2, I was invited to the house of Sharif Maulana, at Mambrui, to hear the reading, but had no opportunity of inspecting the MS. (He "lined it out", like an old-fashioned Scots precentor, giving the substance of each verse in Swahili.) So far as I was able to follow, the composition (whether prose or poetry) did not seem to be identical with the text published by Büttner.

The *Ayubu* raises some interesting questions. As might be expected, it follows the account given in the Koran, or rather, since the allusions in xxxviii, 41, 43 are scarcely intelligible by themselves and must refer to something previously known,¹ to the tradition current in Muhammad's time, which differs considerably from the Hebrew Book of Job. These two hints (the miraculous fountain in which Job bathed, and his rash vow to beat his wife if he got well) are elaborated at great length in the Swahili poem. The reason given in the latter for Job's vow is neither of those assigned by the commentators according to Rodwell's note²: in the absence of further information we may, perhaps, assume that the poet took a line of his own, and one far more favourable to the character of Job's wife, whom he calls Rehema, saying that she was a granddaughter of Joseph and inherited his beauty. He dwells, in a quaintly pathetic way, on her devotion to Job, whom his neighbours expelled from the town on discovering the repulsive character of his illness—how she nursed him and, when they were without food, went out to work by the day, bringing home in the evening a little bread for him and herself. The women who employed her, discovering whose wife she was, drove her from their doors, and, returning home disheartened, she met Satan on the road. He tempted her to desert Job, but she would not listen to him for one moment. She did not, however, apparently, know who he was. Job, when

¹ But see Maulvi Muhammad Ali's translation of these passages and note on them. (*The Holy Qur'ân . . . with English translation and Commentary*, Woking, 1917, p. 887.)

² " . . . on whom he had sworn that he would inflict an hundred blows because she had absented herself from him when in need of her assistance or for her words" (p. 122).

he heard of her adventure, enlightened her on this point and warned her to have no dealings with him if she met him again. Rehema went out next day and obtained a little food by selling some of her beautiful hair to the women of the town, and, on her way back, again met the Tempter in another shape, "a man comely beyond compare and clothed in glorious apparel." He entered into conversation with her and questioned her about her husband ; but when he said :

"What sort of man is Job ? and why are you doing (good) to him ?
Come to me (who am) a king, that you may get supreme power,"

she hastened on, without answering him. Job, on hearing of it, told her angrily that, if she ever did it again (*ambapo wataradidi*) he would beat her, and she replied :

"It is well, my lord, if I do it again, do you strike me a hundred blows " (*bate mia*).

And it is Rehema who, after his recovery, reminds him of his vow, from which he has to be released by the intervention of Gabriel and the suggestion that he should hit her once with a palm-frond having a hundred leaflets.

There is a poem on Joseph, in the same metre as the above, of which I possess an incomplete copy written, to judge by the condition of the paper, a good many years ago. I have also a more modern version of the same (in nearly 800 stanzas) by a living and very prolific writer, Muhammad bin Abubakar (Muhamadi Kijuma) of Lamu, who informed me that he had used both the Koran and the Old Testament as his sources. I have not yet been able to compare it with the available portions of the older poem (or poems, for a detached leaf, in a different hand, while evidently part of a poem on Joseph, may or may not belong to the one above referred to), but believe it would be quite in accordance with the literary traditions of the East if he should prove to have borrowed freely.

The story of the hero Miqdad is told in a composition of 166 stanzas, which is described, not as *Utenzi*, but *Hadithi ya Miqdadi na Mayasa*, for which, also, I have vainly endeavoured to discover an Arabic original. Indeed, no one conversant with Arabic literature whom I have consulted seems even to recognize the story, which may belong to some local tradition imported by

the early settlers from Oman. I found that a Sharif living at Bomani (a village not far from Mambrui) had a copy of this poem and, some time later, had it written out for me by Muhamadi Kijuma. I have no information as to its date or authorship. It dispenses with the lengthy introduction usually found in the *Tensi* (ascriptions of praise to Allah, invocations of the Prophet and the Companions, etc.), and, after a single preliminary stanza, plunges into narrative: "One day Muhammad and his friend Miqdad were walking outside the city of Mecca. While walking, they were caught in the rain and sought shelter in a cave." Thereupon the Prophet suggests that Miqdad should while away the time by telling a story, and his friend replies by relating how, his wife Mayasa having attended an entertainment given by their friends, they had been hard put to it to return the hospitality, and he finally decided to provide the wherewithal by raiding caravans. He did so twice, and then met with a young warrior, Abdallah, who engaged him in single combat and so impressed him by his valour and generosity that they made friendship and told each other their names and histories. After this, Miqdad helped Abdallah to carry off the latter's cousin Salima, whom he had loved since their childhood, but who had been betrothed by her father to a stranger. The consequence is a feud, in which Abdallah and Salima's father kill each other: this business being finally settled, Miqdad collects his plunder and returns to Mayasa.

A poem on Lioŋgo, in 234 stanzas (exclusive of some verses attributed to the hero, which are embodied in it), seems to be classed with the above, as it is also called *Hadithi* in the MS., though (unless I am much mistaken) sometimes spoken of as *Utendi*.¹ Both this and the *Miqedadi* are certainly less archaic in language than the *Mashairi ya Lioŋgo* published by Steere, but this may perhaps be accounted for by prolonged oral transmission, which led to their being gradually modernized, like the English folk-songs not committed to writing till the latter part

¹ My MS. comes from Lamu, in the region to which Lioŋgo belongs; his principality of Shaka was near the present town of Kipini. The Rev. W. E. Taylor speaks (*Dialects of Swahili*, p. 95) of an "Utenzi of (i.e. about) Lioŋgo", but he gives no clue to the identity of this *Utenzi*. Elsewhere, no doubt by an oversight, he twice mentions (pp. 81, 94) a MS. of "the Utenzi of Lioŋgo Fumo" in the British Museum, but this MS. (the only Swahili one in the library) is that of the *Mashairi ya Lioŋgo*, mentioned in the text, as, indeed, Mr. Taylor points out (p. 94, n.).

of the nineteenth century. The Liongo legend and its literature are of sufficient interest to call for separate treatment: a few points may be mentioned here. The story in prose (as told by Hamisi wa Kayi) is to be found in Steere's *Swahili Tales* (pp. 438 et seqq.), and some remarks on it in the Preface (p. vi); see also the notes at the end of the tale (p. 450) in the new edition. The same book contains a long poem, *Mushairi ya Liongo* (pp. 452-69), partly attributed to Liongo himself, partly the work of one Sheikh Abdallah, written as a kind of commentary on the original verses, which are of a gnomic character. The verses in the MS. mentioned above (p. 113, note) are dance-songs, those dictated by Mzee bin Bisharo martial or gnomic lyrics; a longer poem, obtained at Lamu and ascribed to him (beginning: *Pijiani basi, Pembe ya jamsi . . .*), appears to be an epithalamium. Besides the above—which I hope to transcribe and edit in course of time—I have a single leaf of a MS., badly written and much worn, containing the stanzas embodied in the *Utendi*, as mentioned above.

Among the remaining MSS. in my possession, the most important are:—

Kisa (قصة) *cha Sayidina Isa* (356 stanzas)—a life of Christ following the accounts in the Qurân and Muslim tradition. I have not been able to ascertain when, or by whom, it was written, but am informed that it is "old".

The alphabetical acrostic referred to on p. 118, said to have been composed by a blind Sharif (Omar bin Amiu) of Siu, who recovered his sight on completing it.

A shairi of thirty-five stanzas headed "Lamu" and seemingly written to celebrate a wedding. It begins: *Alika kama hurusi*.

A series of poems addressed to each other by the heads of contending factions at Lamu, about 1812.

A curious little dialogue between a *kanu* (civet cat?) and a fowl, supposed to represent, respectively, a powerful man (*mtu bora*) and one of low estate (*mtu dhaifu*). This was sent me from Lamu by Muhammad b. Abubakar, who obtained it from the Watikuu (Swahili of the northern mainland) and says it is "old".

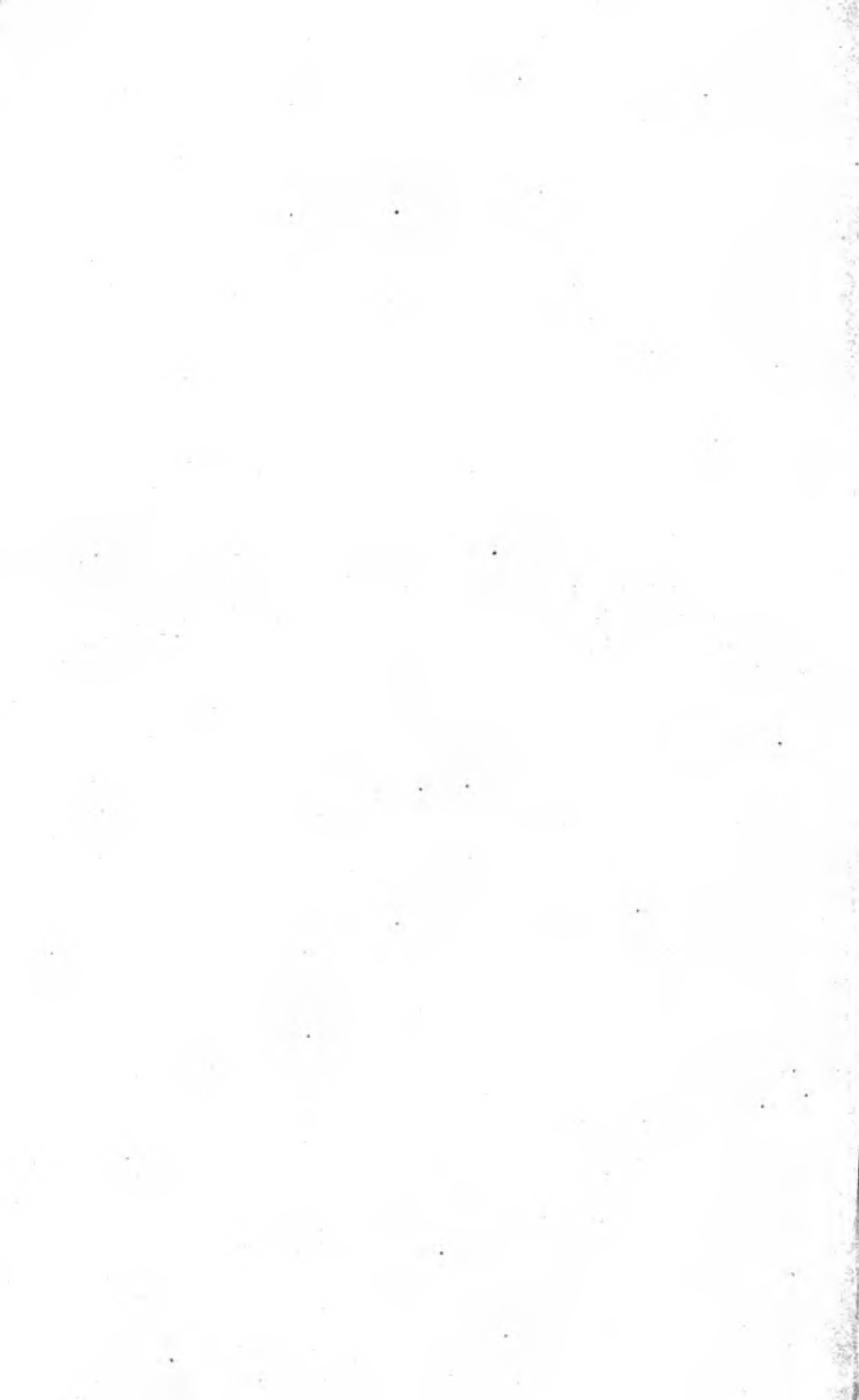
Utendi wa Mkonumbi (150 st.), by Muhammad himself, celebrating a fairly recent event—a kind of faction-fight arising

out of the *Chamu* dance (see Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. xlvii, p. 415).

Another composition of Muhammad's may be worth noting as a curiosity—the *Utendi wa Nana Werner*, addressed to the present writer, in accordance with what, I believe, is a common practice among native teachers who possess the least degree of skill in *kutunga mashairi*. On what principle it is called an *Utendi*, I have never been able to discover.

The enormous number of short poems and popular songs taken down from recitation within a comparatively short time and restricted area suggests that a rich yield may be expected from this, as yet, but superficially worked mine. Whatever may be thought of the poetical quality of these specimens—and, such as it is, it does not show to advantage in a translation—they at any rate indicate the great potential capacity of Swahili as a literary language. It must not be forgotten that, though the number of people who speak it as their mother tongue is not very large, it serves (without displacing their own vernaculars) as an instrument of culture to other Bantu tribes: there is a great demand for Swahili books among (e.g.) *Giryama* and *Pokomo* who have learnt to read. There are hardly any native Swahili prose-writers at present, the existing printed texts having, if I mistake not, been mostly written down by Europeans, but a beginning has been made—as, for instance, in the *Habari za Wakilindi* of Abdallah bin Hemed Liajjeji, published by Archdeacon Woodward at Msalabani in 1907. Through the kindness of Mr. A. C. Hollis, I possess two manuscript chronicles of *Lamu* and *Pate*, the latter of which appeared, with a translation, in the Journal of the African Society for 1914–15. The collections of Büttner and Velten contain some narratives actually written down, not dictated, by natives, and Amur bin Nasr's sketch of his own life¹ is a document of some interest. But, as a rule, their written prose composition (as distinguished from oral narrative) is far inferior to their verse.

¹ Büttner, *Anthologie*, pp. 149–75.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

CATUḤŚATIKĀ. By ĀRYA DEVA, edited by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, iii, pp. 449-514. Calcutta, 1914.

The treatise in Four hundred verses of Ārya Deva has been previously known through a few quotations in Mādhyamika commentaries. Haraprasād Śāstrī has discovered and published a very good, but incomplete, MS. (eleventh century) of the commentary of Candrakīrti on that text. Deva, a disciple or a friend of Nāgārjuna, explains at length the doctrine of the Nihilistic school, the doctrine of universal voidness. Burnouf complained that books dealing with Voidness are really void (*vides en effet*); but this remark, true as it is of the Sūtras (revealed books), is not fair as concerns treatises, like the Catuḥśataka, or commentaries, like Dharmakīrti's commentaries. There are many quite interesting details in our book. Let us give two examples.

The point is that everything in this world is impure (*aśuci*) this universal impurity is not ascertained by common people, for the very reason that it is universal. Candrakīrti says (p. 459): "A certain king was told by the astrologer that rain will fall; anybody who will drink the water of this rain will become mad. The king had a well covered for his own sake. The rain fell. All the people (cf. l. 5 and read *sarvajanas*) drank the water and became mad. Being all in the same condition they thought that they were all sane (*svastha*) and that the king was mad. Then the king, realizing the fact, drank the water, lest 'they should mock me or destroy me, believing I am mad'. If one man only was bound to certain necessities of human nature (*yady eka eva mātṛī syāt*), he would be avoided like a leper. Now that all men are alike in this respect, there is no idea of impurity. . . ."

Another point. Feelings, love and aversion, have their origin, not in reality, but in imagination (*kalpanā, vikalpa*). Thus it happens that the same object pleases a certain man and displeases another. "A man had two wives; one had her mother with her, the other not. When the mother saw her daughter, she was pleased. When the co-wife saw her, she was displeased. But the servant remained quite indifferent. . . . A certain meditative man (*dhyāyin*) had his mind troubled and believed: 'There is

a skull (or a dish) fixed on my head." Then another man let another skull fall, saying: "This has just fallen from your head." The ascetic realized the fact and was healed, because his imagination was dispelled." (p. 473.)

Haraprasād Śāstrī states that the Tibetan translators of the *Catuhṣataka* are Mañjunātha and Thivanimmathappa; according to the Pekinese Tanjur (Mdo, xviii), Sūkṣmajana and Ñi ma grags (= ni mma thap pa). The commentary has been translated by the same translators (Tanjur, Mdo, xxiv), but Haraprasād has Ratnavajra. He might be mistaken: Sūkṣmajana was the son of Sajjana, son of Mahājana, son of Ratnavajra. Where many names occur in a colophon it is often difficult to unravel the tangle.

The complete title of Deva's treatise is *Bodhisattvayogācāra Catuṣṣataka* (not *Catuhṣatikā*). The phrase *Yogācāra*, "practice of Yoga, meditative and spiritual endeavour," belongs to both Vehicles. The word *bodhisattva* implies that the author deals with the Yoga as practised by a "future Buddha" (= *bodhisattva*), that is a follower of the great Vehicle. Later—for instance in Tibetan and Brahmanic works—the phrase *Yogācāra* was used as a synonym of *Vijñāna[mātra]vādin* or *Cittamātravādin*, "maintainer of the existence of consciousness (or thought) alone," one of the two branches of the great Vehicle, a change which seems to be due to the importance of the *Vijñānavādin* treatise *Yogacaryābhūmi* (Mdo-ḥgrel, vol. xiv and foll.).

The "treatise in four hundred verses" is really in 400 verses, not in 375, as stated by Haraprasād Śāstrī. Dr. F. W. Thomas kindly informs me that, in the India Office's copy, the chapters vii, viii, xi, xii all contain twenty-five verses (not 23, 24, 14, 14). If there is not a material error in the figures given by Haraprasād, the discrepancy is interesting.

L. V. P.

BIBLIOTHECA BUDDHICA, XIX. TIBETAN TRANSLATION OF DHARMAKĪRTI'S SAMTĀNĀNTARASIDDHI AND VINĪTADEVA'S SAMTĀNĀNTARASIDDHITĪKĀ, with the gloss of Nāg-dban-bstan-dar. pp. xvii, 129. Published by Th. de Stcherbatskoï, Petrograd, 1916.

Buddhists do not admit the existence of a permanent living principle, and where we should say "soul" (*ātman*), or

"individual" (*puruṣa*, *puṭgala*), or "living being" (*jīva*), they use the phrase *saṃtāna*, "series," or *cittasaṃtāna*, "series of thoughts." The title of the treatise of Dharmakīrti means: "Demonstration of the existence of other souls."

Dharmakīrti belongs to the school *Vijñānavādin* or *Vijñaptimātravādin*, "Maintainers of the existence of thought alone." Visions, sensations, etc., of a waking man are like visions in a dream: there is not an object (*ālambana*). Now, if it be so, how are we to establish the existence of other men, the existence of Buddha? The *Vijñānavādin*s could not well admit the extreme consequences of their idealistic theories and they were bound to find a loophole. As usual in Buddhist books, the *pūrvānta*, "prima facie view," is stated with great strength.

"The maintainers of the existence of exterior things urge that, for the maintainers of the existence of consciousness alone, there are not other beings. They say: For a man who denies the existence of exterior things and maintains that thought is without an object, the existence of other living beings is not established through immediate evidence (*pratyakṣa*), for every knowledge is its own object and there is not an exterior object. And, as there are neither bodily nor vocal actions, the existence of other living beings cannot be established through induction (*anumāna*). For we know the existence of living beings besides ourselves owing to the significative character of gestures and words, and, in the system of 'consciousness alone', there are not such gestures and words. As concerns 'revelation' (*āgama*), it is included in the category (*skandha*) of 'matter' (*rūpa*), for Revelation is either of the nature of 'voice' or of the nature of 'scripture': both are inexistent according to you. . . ."

The answer was certainly more difficult to frame, and it is more difficult to translate. We shall only remark that the author deals first with the *Sautrāntikas*, who believe in the existence of exterior things as being known through inference—we only know our own ideas and sensations; but the occasional character of these sensations can only be explained by assuming the existence of exterior agents—and with the *Vaibhāṣikas* who, like the earlier Buddhists, believe that "the eye sees its object".

Much remains obscure in the position of the *Vijñānavādin*s. It is rather surprising that *Dignāga* and *Dharmakīrti*, while strictly adhering to the dogma of "consciousness alone", were

able to build a consistent system of logic. No reader of the *Nyāyabindu* would suspect that the author, who skilfully states the conditions of correct "evidence" and correct "inference", denies elsewhere the existence of a "cogniser" and of a "thing cognised".

L. V. P.

NOËL PERI. HĀRĪTĪ, LA MÈRE-DE-DÉMONS. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, xvii, No. 3, Hanoi, 1917. pp. 102.

Hārītī is an important figure in the Buddhist pantheon, notwithstanding her demoniac origin. Formerly a deity of smallpox, a killer of babies, she was converted by Buddha, when the Master, by stealing the beloved one amongst her five hundred children, made her understand that human mothers also are fond of their babies. Much has been written on this deity, and the long overdue English translation¹ of the studies of M. A. Foucher ("La Madone Bouddhique, les images indiennes de la Fortune," dans *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xvii, 2, *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, i) will before long, we hope, reveal the strange destinies of the ogress transformed into a "giver of children" and a tutelary saint of the Order. M. Noël Peri, who has a thorough knowledge of the Chinese sources, gives an exhaustive account of all the versions of the story (pp. 1-43), of the documents relative to the worship, monastic, popular, and tantric (pp. 44-65, 65-81, 81-102)—a very meritorious work indeed. But the most important part of this "mémoire" is the discussion of the relations between Hārītī and Avalokiteśvara. It is well known that, in China, Avalokita is a woman (Kouan-yin 觀音); the iconographic representations of this saint give to a casual observer the impression of a Madonna. How has the sex of the Bodhisattva been changed? A problem which has puzzled a number of scholars, and which M. Noël Peri explains in a satisfactory way (pp. 67-72).

¹ The translation by Miss L. Thomas and Dr. F. W. Thomas was printed in August, 1914. [London, Humphrey Milford, 1917 (= 1918).]

CRITICAL NOTES TO SAUNDARANANDAKĀVYA

Haraprasād Sāstri has deserved well of Buddhist studies by publishing (*Bibl. Indica*, 1910), together with valuable introduction and notes, the *editio princeps* of the Saundaranandakāvya of Āśvaghoṣa. It was by no means an easy task. There is an old and good MS., but it has many lacunæ; and the modern copy, on which Haraprasād had to depend for the bulk of the work, is thoroughly bad. We need not apologize for presenting a few corrections and conjectures. Some of them are given by the editor himself in his notes; a few (marked *B.*) are due to M. A. Baston (French translation of the two first chapters of the poem, *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, i, 79–100). There remain a number of difficult or corrupt passages on which I have unfortunately nothing definite to say.

I have not given up the hope of translating the Saundara-
nanda, but, as the realization of such hopes is always, and
especially now, a matter of incertitude, I should like to make
a remark of some importance. Both the editor and M. A.
Baston assume that Aśvaghoṣa's poem is a Māhāyānika work :
I do not see any evidence in favour of this view. Whether
the author of the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda, and the
Sūtrālamkāra (translated by E. Huber from the Chinese, Paris,
1908), is also the author of the Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda, is by no
means evident. If it be the case, that does not in the least alter
the fact that there is not any tinge of Mahāyānism in the
Saundarananda. If preaching and working at the salvation of
others is, as says Haraprasād Śāstri (p. xi), the "distinctive
creed" of Mahāyāna, then Buddhism has been Mahāyānist from
the cradle.

I

- 2a. āśīśriyad yaḥ satatam ? 2c. āśīśrāya ?
 5d. tapasām āśramo 'bhavat (see 18).
 7c. asaṃkirṇaiḥ or asaṃkirṇaḥ.
 8b. bhāvanair ?
 19d. śriyaś ca ?
 21. Cf. Raghuvamśa, xii, 9. bhrātrvyasya . . . śriyaṃ na
 viṣhire.
 23d. gautamaḥ.
 28a. kalaśaṃ.
 30d. śīghravāhān.

- 31c. tadāśramamahīpāṃsum ?
 32c. tām uvāca.
 35c. śarādhimātā mahātūṇā (B.).
 38b. śūnyacaitasaiḥ ?
 46c. atīṣṭhipan.
 50d. acikhanan, wanting in Whitney's list.
 56b. acikaran.

II

- 1b. kulakramāt (B.).
 2a. yaḥ sasajje (B.).
 10d. asthitān (B.). sthitān is probably correct.
 13a. arākṣit is correct.
 23a. Whitney akṛṣat.
 24. Cf. Buddhac. ii, 42.
 43d. nikriyā.
 46d. °caryāṃ.
 45. ?
 49c. vitakrodhataṃomāyā. Māyā = Lakṣmī.
 55c. saddharma°.
 65d. °aṅganāsv anāsthāḥ.

III

- 2a. tapasitān ?? c. prekṣya sa viśaya°. d. tapa iti ?
 5c. dhyānaviśayam.
 10c. varāṇasā°.
 14c. °taraṅgacalam. d. cātyatārayat.
 17c. ?
 18b. niyatamatir ?? d. svajanasvadeśa[~ ~]mitravastuṣu.
 19d. duḥkhasukhayoś.
 21a. avekṣya. c. śesam api ca janam.
 22c. ?
 26c. tatprasavam ?
 27b. °siddhaye. d. sa suto ?
 29d. dadhrire.
 30d. upāsakaḥ ?
 31c. kṛśadhano.
 32d. With a scansion °māhila ??
 33c. ślakṣṇam api ca na.
 34b. grddhamānasāḥ.
 35b. saghr̥ṇo 'py acintayat ?
 39a. gr̥hiṇa.

40a. viṣayeṣu.

41c. tatra ca susukha°? d. kṛtayuge manor iva.

42b. ——— ——— ———. With a scansion °pūru°?
c. abhavad abhaya°.

IV

2c. vaiśravaṇaṃ.

5d. sā sundarī śrīḥ puruṣas tu nandaḥ?

12d. bhūṣaṇaṃ.

22b. sākṣibhūtaṃ.

25a. niṣpraṇayaś.

36a. anāśyāna°.

37b. jagāda.

38a. tataḥ stana°.

43a. adarśanaṃ tūpagataś.

V

2d. kṛtvāñjalim.

3a. buddhastubhas . . . janasya?? buddhas tatas tatra?

15c. kleśānukūlān viṣayān sitaṃ ca?

18d. samkleśapakṣān?

24d. aratibhyaḥ.

25b. kriyābhyaḥ.

29b. śoko.

31a. savidyo. c. tathānapekṣo.

45b. citram.

53a. tanu°?

VI

16a. rūpeṇa bhāvena ca madviśiṣṭā.

19d. janavatsalena??

25d. cūṭayaṣṭiḥ.

38c. prṣṭhataḥ.

48d. ka iva.

VII

2a. līgaṃ tataḥ śāstrīvidhipradiṣṭam. d. hrīyamāṇo.

3c. yugadīrghabāhū.

4c. niśaśvāsa.

10d. hṛdayaṃ.

17b. dviguruṇā is good for the meaning, but wrong for the
metre. vai guruṇā?

20a. baddhāsanah. c. saktah.

- 23*b*. vanam sapuṣpaṃ ?
 26*d*. yato (reading of the MSS.) gives sense.
 28*b*. vaśiṣṭhaś (cf. Buddhac. iv, 76).
 29. Buddhac. iv, 76 (jalaprabhavasambhavām = jhasagarbha-
 yonin).
 30. Buddhac. iv, 16.
 32*c*. srucaṃ.
 34-5. Buddhac. iv, 19, 20.
 37*c-d*. sarpān hriyaṃ na roṣe na tapo rarakṣa.
 38. Buddhac. xii, 12.
 42*d*. cittoddhava° ?
 43*a*. āttasenah.
 45. Buddhac. iv, 79.
 51. Buddhac. ix, 59, 60.

VIII

- 2*b*. bhramam.
 7*c*. kare kareṇa.
 10*a*. sadṛśaṃ hṛdi ?
 25*d*. na ratir.
 34*a*. svajanāh. *d*. rabhasās tatra nimittam aṅganāh.
 35*a*. vacanena karonti varṇanām ?
 39*d*. drptatarās.
 42*c*. caiva yantraṇām.
 44*b*. vaka[-] mīnaripuṃ.
 47*a-b*. atha sūkṣmam atipriyāśayāl laghu tāsāṃ hṛdayaṃ na
 paśyasi. *d*. calitam.
 59*b*. bhaikṣam . . . citramauliḥ.

IX

- 1*d*. viśaṅga° ?
 5*c*. idaṃ tat.
 6*b*. nadītaṭānokaḥavac.
 7*a*. annapānāsanayāna°.
 12*b*. viruddhā.
 14*a*. śayyāsana°.
 16*b* and xi, 55*a*. asvanta = a-sv-anta ? asvastha ? ?
 18*c*. jarāḥ.
 23*b*. °dvipān arin.
 34*a*. daivikaṃ. *c*. balavān (see Buddhac. iv, 82).
 35*a-b*. raktacetasaḥ śarīrasamjñe tava yaḥ . . . *c-d*. bhayād
 bhayaṃ hi.

- 36a-b. śarīre na vaśo 'sti kasyacin uirasyamāne.
 39a. yathā prarohanti tṛṇāny ayatnatah.
 41c. tathānapekṣya.
 49b. vimokṣadharmābhyupa°.

X

- 1b. bhāryām.
 10d. pitṛbhyo 'mbha.
 26d. rājāyate.
 29a. tathānye.
 42b. °karonti.
 44a. yathā prabhāte.
 49a. athāpsaraḥsv eva?
 53d. savrṣa°.
 54c. vimokṣyāmi.
 61d. na cāpy.
 62b. kadācid dhi labheta?

XI

- 5a. sa vṛttena.
 13a. duṣkaraṃ sādhu anāryeṇa.
 18d. yat tvām (cf. Buddhac. iv, 65).
 20d. MSS. tad rajaḥ?
 25a. drpto?
 27d. tyaktavān.
 32b. nāpi kāmāḥ satṛṣṇasya (see 37).
 41. Cf Buddhac. xiv, 18.
 43-4. Buddhac. xi, 13, 14.
 46d. atyajan.
 48 ?
 50. Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 194.
 51b. ? d. devānām sukha°?
 52d. dhṛtir bhavati nāsane (Div., p. 193, sva āsane dhṛtim na labhate).
 54c. yac ca (correction not necessary).
 60c. niyamadhyānādibhiḥ.
 61a-b. "Being inside the net, the foolish fishes in the tank are aware (*jānanti*) of the misfortune produced by destruction, live comfortably in the water; just so the meditative (*dhyāyinas*) persons in the heaven . . ." We want "unaware" (*ajānanto*). "The inhabitants of heaven" (*divisthāyinaḥ*) would give

good sense, but *dhyāyinas* is supported by *Śatuh-śataka*, p. 473.

XII

- 3*b*. *parihāsakṣamo* ?
 7*c*. *tathānityatayā*.
 17*c*. Cf. *Buddhac.* xii, 16.
 26*d*. *dharmomukha* p°. *c-d* ?
 27*b*. *draṣṭur āvṛtiḥ*. *c-d* ?
 28*b*. *viruddhā*.
 33. Cf. *Buddhac.* xiii, 60.
 39*b*. *yataḥ* ?
 43*d*. *akṣayaś ca* ?

XIII

- 7*c*. *mantrakāle* ?
 13*a*. *śuddhaḥ*.
 15*a*. *bhaikṣa*°.
 17. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, iv, *Atthasālinī*, p. 220.
 18*d*. *pareṣv āyattavṛttinā*.
 27. *śīlanam sevanād api / sevanam . . .* ?
 29*c*. *sthānam athānyeṣu*.
 33*c*. *yatra*.
 44. *nāpaneyam tataḥ kiṃ cit prakṣeptavyam na kiṃcana / draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtam yādṛṣam ca yathā ca yat //*
 Compare *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 12. The same verse, with a variant (*d*) *bhūtadarśi vimucyate*, is quoted in *Mādhyamika* books. The present passage gives us the best definition of the phrase *nimittagrahaṇa*.
 48*b*. *ārditam*.
 56*c*. *bhava hi* ?

XIV

- 6*d*. ?
 12*b*. *abhyañjyate*. Cf. *Mahāniddeśa*, p. 241, where the same similes are given.
 13*a*. *śamatikramanāṛtham*.
 16*d*. *mahaughasya* t°. *c-d* ?
 21*a*. *hr̥di yatsamjñināś*. *d*. *guṇavatsamjñin tāṃ*.
 24*c-d*. Cf. *Anguttara*, iv, 85.
 35*a-b*. *āsanagatasthānaprekṣitavyāhṛtādiṣu*.
 39*d*. *viśameṣu*.
 45*b*. *tiṣṭhati* ?
 48*d*. ?

XV

- 1a. Cf. xiv, 49.
 17b. maitrīm.
 18d. natir might be correct.
 21b. pātrībhāvopaghātāt tu.
 22b. svaptum arhaṣi (see xvi, 78).
 23c. See xvi, 49.
 25c-d. ??
 31c. svajānaḥ.
 54d. apekṣate.
 63a. niḥśaucam.

XVI

- 4c. niḥsaraṇa°.
 5b. prativēdhyā.
 7b, 14d. avehi.
 23b. ? c. avetya.
 27d. kṣemaṇ.
 38d. lokapravṛttāvaratīḥ ?
 49b. kālo.
 53a. yan niyatam nimittam. d. vāyunā vahnir ?
 54a. niyatam.
 64d. vāyvātmake.
 66a. dhamann akāle.
 76c-d. kaṇṭhe manasvīva yuva vapuṣmān acākṣusair aprayutair viṣaktaiḥ ?
 77a. doṣato.
 83. Cf. Majjhima, i, p. 120. d. ?
 85c. yātrā°.

XVII

- 4a. rjūṇ samagram ?
 9a. manahśamāya.
 15b. niḥsaraṇa°.
 16a. sa rūpiṇam.
 18c. ahetukaṇ ca kṣayi.
 21b. naiśvaryam.
 24a. ?
 28d. jñānamukhasya ?
 30b. yathābhūtam. c. °āśrayām.
 33d. śāstra°.
 36a. tvaksnāyu°.

- 38*d*. yogāyudhāstrair.
 43*a*. kāmāgnidāhena. '
 45*d*. cittāmbhasaḥ.
 52*a*. sukhe 'pi. *b*. parāṃ.
 56*a*. niśritya. *b*. ?
 57*c-d*. ?
 59. Cf. Buddhac. ix, 16.
 60. See iii, 14.
 68*c*. pāram ivāplavākāt ?

XVIII

1. Cf. Divya, p. 555.
 2*a*. jñānasamāptikāle ? See Buddhac. xiii, 51. It seems that four pādas are missing between 2*b* and 2*c*.
 4*b*. ?
 10*b*. dharmacaryā = brahmacarya.
 14*a*. urvyādikān. *b*. kaṃ cit. *c*. saktir.
 16*a*. udayaṃ vyayaṃ ca ?
 17*b*. niḥsāram asattvavantam ? *c*. ?
 19*a*. anīśritaś.
 20*c*. °candana°.
 22*a*. śiṣṭa° ?
 28*b*. raṇaśaunḍaśūraḥ.
 34*b*. svalaṃkṛtaḥ ?
 44*c*. °devatā° ?
 49*d*. Buddhac. xv, 117.
 50*b*. sudeśikasyeva.
 51*b*. °mānasaḥ. *c*. tathāvabudhyate.
 52*b*. ceyaṃ.
 53*b*. prasādādhigamena. *d*. na tarhi bhaktāv abhiyogam ??
 55*c*. madhyamo.
 56*a*. mataḥ sa uttamo. *c*. svagataṃ.
 64*b*. mokṣe param ? *d*. cānikaram iva ?

L. V. P.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE.
 Macmillan. 1918. \$1.50.

Mr. Latourette is a Professor of History at an American University (Denison), and what first occurs to one on opening his book is the reflection that such works rarely issue from

English universities. One can recollect some of an immense list of popular English works—of which a typical title would perhaps be *Jolly Japan*—works in ascending degrees of futility, written in a patronizing or a sentimental spirit, and staggering under a load of inaccuracies; but it is an unpleasant fact that, apart from the early standard works of such scholars as Chamberlain and Aston, the recent sound and thoughtful studies of Modern Japan are the work of American students, as, for example, Mr. W. W. McLaren's *Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era*, Mr. P. S. Reinsch on *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*, and Dr. Gulick's studies of Japanese character and politics. To set against these we have only Mr. Robert Porter's *Full Recognition of Japan*, which is a compilation and not an inquiry, and Mr. Gubbins on the history of the early years of Meiji, where the author, by reason of his official career, was not able to make full use of his large stores of learning and experience.

A book like Mr. Latourette's is the more welcome at such a time as the present, when it grows very clear that one of the few hopes for some measure of international amity is the fullest mutual understanding between nations. The only cure, the only possible alleviation, of national jealousies, hatreds, and suspicions, is the free and steady flow of information from one state to another, but it must be information that is accurate and untainted.

Mr. Latourette's book certainly satisfies those conditions. Its first ten chapters, which survey briefly, but with skilful compression, the history of Japan from the beginnings down to the war with Russia, are lucid and accurate. The survey of the following period—in particular the account of Japan's relations with America and the growth of her policy in China, where more acutely controversial ground is covered—is clear and conscientious. In fact, were it not an ungrateful criticism, one would be tempted to say that the author's evident desire to be unbiassed has led him by reaction to assume in some passages the rôle of an apologist for Japan. This, however, is a good fault, and does not by any means imply that the general tone of his treatment, for instance, of such difficult questions as that of immigration, is in any way prejudiced.

The reviewer, having recommended this book as quite the

best short study of modern Japan known to him, a happy medium in style between the popular and the scholarly, may be permitted one or two minor criticisms.

In dealing with the problem of Japanese expansion, it seems important to discuss the racial capacity for settling territories which differ from Japan in climate, configuration, etc. On p. 150 the author states that the vigorous policy of colonization of the Hokkaido was a success. The evidence available tends to show that the measure of success is dubious. Neither in the Hokkaido nor in Manchuria and Korea can the best elements of the Japanese population be said to predominate; and it is still to be demonstrated that the Japanese are capable of settling, as opposed to exploiting, lands where a great deal of severe pioneer work has to be done, and where conditions of food and shelter are different from those prevailing in their own country. Certainly it is at present the case that, with some notable and praiseworthy exceptions, the Japanese immigrant population in Korea and Manchuria contains an unduly high proportion of peddlers, small shopkeepers, and those whose occupation is in general parasitic rather than productive.

The Index contains no entries under P, so that the reader will look in vain for the Treaty of Portsmouth, Perry, Pan-Asiatic, Portugal, and Pescadores.

The Bibliography omits reference to Mr. Murdoch's standard works on Japanese history, which, despite their obvious faults of temper, are unrivalled examples of bold and individual treatment.

G. B. SANSOM.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA SINICA. By SAMUEL COULING, M.A. Two parts (633 pages). Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh. 1917.

Mr. Samuel Couling in bringing out this work has rendered a distinct public service, and has laid the foundations of what will no doubt be some day an exhaustive repertory of Chinese lore. He is himself the first to admit the magnitude of the task he has undertaken, and the great value of this first issue of the *Encyclopædia Sinica* lies in the fact that it forms a working basis for subsequent editions.

Though all the best living authorities and the best available literature on this vast subject have been consulted, no one at all

versed in Sinology could fail to find omissions in the headings and in the articles themselves. We are convinced that Mr. Couling will welcome any additions and corrections to which attention may be called, and we have therefore no hesitation in occupying this review chiefly with criticism and supplementary data. And in so doing we do not want to detract in any way from the praise which all scholars will no doubt bestow on this arduous undertaking.

From the point of view of the general public the work is a veritable handbook to China, and affords entertainment from cover to cover.

One of the greatest difficulties which beset the compiler of an encyclopædia such as this is the preservation of a due proportion in the length of the articles, and many instances might be pointed out of obscurer personages receiving longer notices than some who are better entitled to fame.

A very large place is occupied by the accounts of the various missionary activities in China, and although no one can ignore the debt that Sinologists owe to the missionaries of various European nationalities, nor wish to disparage in any way the work they so nobly carry out, we cannot help feeling that the accounts of missions play rather a disproportionately large part in a work which is primarily intended to "interpret and open up China to the foreign reader". No doubt this disproportion will disappear in future, when the bulk of the work will be considerably increased.

From a general standpoint the following suggestions may be acceptable.

Under the article Moso on p. 5 reference should be made to the admirable monograph on this tribe by J. Bacot (*Les Mo-So*, Leyden, 1913).

On p. 25 Father Amiot's large dictionary of the Manchu language is not mentioned.

On p. 137 the crocodile should be mentioned.

On p. 159 reference should be made under Ney Elias to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, to which he wrote a long and learned introduction.

On p. 297 it might be mentioned that the School of Oriental Studies now possesses an almost complete copy of the second edition of the *Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, presented by the

China Association. Incidentally this famous encyclopædia might fittingly have a cross reference under T'u Shu.

On p. 461, in connexion with the earliest use of block printing for books, mention should be made of a dated Chinese Buddhist work printed in 868 A.D., brought from Central Asia by Sir Marc Aurel Stein.

On p. 555, for Bod-jul, the Tibetan name for Tibet, read Bod-yul.

On p. 581 the bibliography of Uighur is very incomplete. The following works should be mentioned:—

Kudatku Bilik, by Dr. W. Radloff (St. Petersburg, 1891).

Uigurica, by F. W. K. Muller. In two parts. K.P.Akad., 1910.

K Voprosu ob Uigurach, by Dr. W. Radloff.

Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und Manchurischen Bücher und Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, by J. Klaproth.

Recherches sur les langues tartares, by M. Abel Rémusat.

Under the same heading it is stated that Yule held that the Uighur alphabet was "more probably derived from the Sogdian". The Sogdian language was only discovered long after Yule's death. The fact, however, is quite correct, as it has now been clearly shown that the Uighur alphabet—the origin of the Mongol and Manchu scripts—was borrowed from the Sogdian, which in its turn came from the Aramaic alphabet. These Central Asian scripts, therefore, all derive from the Aramaic and not from the Nestorian Syriac, the view for long held by European scholars. (See *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, R. Gauthiot; 1913, Ross and Gauthiot.)

On p. 590, under Visdelou, no mention is made of this author's famous and invaluable supplement to d'Herbelot's *Dictionnaire Orientale*.

In connexion with the Five Language Mirror, on p. 301, an excerpt dealing with birds, published in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, should be mentioned.

THE EDITOR.

The following notes on painting and poetry are by Mr. Arthur Waley, of the British Museum.

In Mrs. Ayscough's article on Painting, as indeed throughout

the book, insufficient attention is paid to transliteration. Thus, at the bottom of p. 419 (col. 1) 太 is transliterated Ta. On the same page (col. 2, middle) 寬 is transliterated kuan (for k'uan), while 仇 is transliterated Chin (for Ch'iu).

The translation of Hsieh Ho's Canons is quite inadequate. In No. 1 氣 is not translated at all, whereas the whole contrast is between "outer form" and "inward spirit". No. 5 is translated by Mrs. Ayscough "Perspective should be correctly conceived". The Chinese is 經營位置, literally "planning and placing". To speak of "perspective" introduces irrelevant associations. No. 6 傳模移寫 is rendered "Representation should be in conformity with the style selected". Surely it means "tracing and copying". Ku K'ai-chih, when describing the proper way to "trace" a picture, uses the cognate word 摹. Chang Yen-yüan (10th cent.) says: 傳模移寫乃畫家末事 "Tracing and copying are of course an inferior part of the painter's art".

The article on Poetry is by Mrs. Couling. For Tung Fang-so read Tung-fang So; for Ssü K'ung-t'u read Ssü-k'ung T'u. For 搏 (p. 442, bottom of col. 2) read 搏. For 樂賦 read 樂府. The account given of Han poetry is very inadequate: even Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju is not mentioned. The statement that most of Han Yü's poetry is "in lighter vein" is astonishing. It is strange, in a short article on Chinese poetry, to mention such a complete nonentity as Kao Chü-chien 高菊堦, while the names of Ch'ên Tzū-ang, Li Shang-yin, Su Tung-p'o, and Lu Yu are wholly omitted. Incidentally the last syllable of Kao Chü-chien's name is written "nien" by Mrs. Couling, a mistake copied from Giles's *Chinese Poetry*, where it is presumably a misprint. I think also, it must have been a translation of the poem which reminded Mrs. Couling "of Heine", for the original could scarcely have done so.

The statement (p. 444, col. 1) that most Chinese poems "are exceedingly terse" is presumably due to acquaintance with anthologies of short poems. In the complete works of any poet the short poems form a very small proportion.

In the bibliography "d'Hervey Saint Denys' *Poésies Modernes*" is mentioned. Can the *Poésies des Thang* be meant?

Mr. Z. L. Yih, of Shanghai, adds the following notes:—

There are some terms which deserve to be briefly explained, if not accompanied by an article, e.g., processions (迎神賽會),

which happen in time of drought, etc.; rubbings (碑帖), in which every Chinese archæologist is interested; charitable institutions, such as family charities (義莊), charity schools (義塾), institutions for respectable, poor widows (清節堂), homes for curing opium-smokers (戒煙局). Two industries connected with the religion of China should also be mentioned, the incense-making trade and the lead-paper (錫箔) trade.

The term 城隍廟, "City Temple," should be mentioned under "Temple", as every Chinese city has a City Temple. Its importance is evident when we consider the popular theory that the spirit of a dead man is under the jurisdiction of the spirit-magistrate whose Yamen is the City Temple. Just as when he was alive he was under the jurisdiction of the living magistrate.

The characters in drama seem to require more explanation. Thus the "hero" 生 is divided into "old" and "young", and again into military and civil. The woman's part is divided into "virtuous woman" 正旦, "fast woman" 花旦, and "old woman" 老旦; while serving-women are called 青衣旦. The 淨 always has a bass voice and is usually of villanous character. 丑 is a clown; 末 an insignificant part.

An article on military equipment might with advantage be inserted. Many of the weapons used in China were similar to mediaeval European implements; but others (such as the 棍 "stick" and 畫戟 "painted spear") were quite different.

OBITUARY NOTICE

ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

Né en 1865 ; Professeur au Collège de France (1893) ; Membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (1903) ; mort le 27 janvier 1918. Il laisse une veuve, un fils, officier aviateur décoré de la croix de guerre, et deux filles.

La mort d'Édouard Chavannes est sans doute le coup le plus cruel qui pût atteindre les études chinoises. Nous n'essaierons pas d'apprécier son œuvre, aussi ample qu'elle est variée ; mais peut-être réussirons-nous à donner quelque idée de l'homme et du savant.

Édouard Chavannes appartient à la lignée des grands travailleurs d'autrefois, tout entiers à leurs recherches et à leurs élèves. Mesurant son champ dès l'aube, labourant sans répit comme sans hâte, engrangeant le blé mûr, il compta les années par des livres solides et élégants. Avec une facilité de travail tout à fait au-dessus de l'ordinaire, jointe à la préoccupation presque scrupuleuse de l'exactitude, la discrétion et la modestie, la légèreté de touche et l'horreur de toute prétention, étaient ses qualités maîtresses. Prenez, par exemple, la publication des documents chinois rapportés d'Asie Centrale par M. A. Stein : une énorme tas de menus fragments, les plus anciens MSS. chinois connus, documents officiels des petits postes militaires qui tenaient la "marche d'Ouest" sous les Han (1er siècle av. J.-C.). Édouard Chavannes était seul capable de débrouiller ce chaos ; il le fit, avec la rapidité et la sûreté qui étaient son secret. Mais voyez comme il s'exprime dans la Préface : "Quelle méthode fallait-il suivre pour la publication de ces documents ? J'aurais pu me borner à ne donner que ceux dont le sens était sûr ; j'aurais négligé ceux dont la lecture était douteuse ou dont la traduction était hypothétique . . . Il m'a paru que cette méthode trop prudente n'était pas la bonne ; mieux valait, fût-ce au prix de nombreuses erreurs, livrer au monde savant la totalité des trouvailles de M. Stein. Ce qui importe, en effet, c'est que les travailleurs aient accès à tous les matériaux que j'ai eus moi-même entre les mains, et qu'ils puissent, par des efforts répétés, améliorer les résultats que j'ai obtenus . . . J'ai simplement fait ce que j'ai pu, et je me réjouirai de toutes les rectifications qui seront proposées . . ."

Semblable modestie unie à tant de science donne la mesure d'un homme.

La réserve et le tact d'Édouard Chavaunes sont aussi bien visibles dans le même ouvrage. Il décrit ces petites garnisons perdues entre la Chine et l'Ouest, leur mission, leur recrutement, leur ravitaillement, leurs armes. Les détails épars dans les archives disparates qu'il a dépouillées fournissent tous les traits du tableau. Mais l'auteur veut aussi nous dire ce qu'on peut savoir du moral de ces soldats. L'homme l'intéresse. Ici les deux mille fiches sont muettes, mais d'autres sources nous renseignent sur le "matériel humain" dont disposait la hardie politique des Han. Ce sont des poésies militaires de l'époque des T'ang, jusqu'ici sans point d'appui fixe dans l'histoire, et qui s'expliquent maintenant par les documents d'archives qu'elles complètent à leur tour. Édouard Chavaunes en présente quelques specimens :

Il est bien malheureux, l'habitant de la frontière :

En un an, il a trois fois dû suivre l'armée ;

Trois de ses fils sont allés à Touen-houang.

Les deux autres se sont rendus dans le Long-si.

Tandis que ses cinq fils sont ainsi partis pour combattre au loin

Leurs cinq femmes sont enceintes.

Le studieux sinologue n'ajoute rien à ces vieilles et émouvantes paroles. Sans trahir son rôle de témoin, il fait revivre les modestes héros des fiches du Turkestan. C'est de la meilleure histoire, qui dépasse la pure érudition sans rien sacrifier à la littérature.

S'il est un domaine où la littérature usurpe volontiers sur l'histoire, c'est sans doute la province mal délimitée que réclame la science des religions. Si nous voulons savoir ce qu'il faut faire et comment il faut le faire, prenons le mémoire sur le mont sacré T'ai-chan, "monographie d'un culte chinois."

L'auteur ne prétend vérifier aucune théorie ; pour un peu, on dirait qu'il n'y met rien du sien, excepté l'ordre et la lumière ; sinologue, il découvre, publie, date et traduit des textes ; historien, il les classe et les interprète. Son impartialité et sa réserve font la parfaite sécurité du lecteur qui, désormais, en sait autant que lui, ou presque autant que lui, sur le culte des lieux hauts en Chine. Certains écrivains auraient trouvé là matière à dix Rameaux d'or.

Les sinologues, qui ne sont pas toujours de bons confrères, furent, dès ses débuts qui étaient ceux d'un maître, d'accord pour reconnaître dans Édouard Chavannes les dons éminents du vrai sinologue. Il semble bien que personne autant que lui n'a contribué, au cours de ces trente dernières années, au progrès, non seulement des études sinologiques, mais, au propre, de la connaissance du Chinois. La difficulté du Chinois n'est pas dans l'incertitude ou le "flou" de la pensée: les Chinois sont des réalistes qui savent ce qu'ils veulent dire, et c'est sans doute pour cela que la Chine, qui a tant d'historiens, n'a pas, comme l'Inde, des philosophies; elle n'est pas non plus dans des tours raffinés de syntaxe; elle est surtout dans le nombre des expressions toutes faites, autant d'allusions littéraires, qui réjouissent le lecteur averti et déroutent quiconque ne connaît pas à fond ses auteurs. Aussi une bonne partie du travail des sinologues est du pur *guesswork*. Voir les Beal, les de Harlez, et tant d'autres. Un des grands mérites d'Édouard Chavannes, m'assuraient J. J. de Groot et Paul Pelliot presque dans les mêmes termes, est d'avoir substitué à l'exégèse par divination une méthode d'exactitude. La clef des énigmes est dans les livres, dans les classiques, dans les dictionnaires et encyclopédies. Le sinologue ne peut pas être l'homme *unius libri*. Il faut de larges lectures et une mémoire infailible; il faut surtout une sagacité innée. Les profanes sont à même d'apprécier le progrès marqué par Édouard Chavannes; soit qu'ils comparent les anciennes traductions fragmentaires de Se-ma-t'sien avec l'*opus magnum* du maître français, soit qu'ils étudient quelque traduction de textes bouddhiques où le contrôle est aisé.

L'œuvre d'Édouard Chavannes embrasse toute la Chine, encore que l'étude des relations de la Chine avec les "Pays d'Occident" y occupe une place d'honneur. Il "attaquait" Se-ma-t'sien en 1890 avec le traité sur les sacrifices Fong et Chang; en 1891, ses études de Normalien portaient un fruit dans la traduction d'un ouvrage de Kant; de 1895 à 1898, parurent les quatre volumes de Se-ma-t'sien, l'Hérodote de la Chine. En même temps, Édouard Chavannes rouvrait la carrière ouverte par Rémusat et Stanislas Julien; par ses soins, l'histoire des pèlerins bouddhiques s'est enrichie, en 1894, des monographies d'Itsing sur les "Religieux éminents qui cherchèrent la Loi en Occident"; en 1895, de l'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong; en 1903, des Voyages de Son-Yun, sans parler d'une foule de notes—on

sait que la méthode " pour déchiffrer les noms indiens transcrits en Chinois " a été renouvelée, depuis que nous sommes à même de restituer l'ancienne prononciation et les consonnes disparues. La publication des Inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gayā (1896) donna lieu à une passe d'armes entre Édouard Chavannes et Schlegel; le vieil et rébarbatif Hollandais fut aussi inférieur en érudition qu'en courtoisie. Édouard Chavannes devait le remplacer à la direction du *Toung Pao*. A la Chine religieuse appartient le livre sur le Tai-chan (泰山), dont le titre " monographie " ne doit pas donner le change. Ce copieux mémoire jette des lumières nouvelles sur plusieurs aspects du paganisme chinois, une forme très complexe du culte de la nature. Les deux volumes de la *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (1909), importants pour l'histoire de l'art, sont aussi très riches en archéologie au sens le plus large du mot. Le Bouddhisme et le folklore trouvent également leur part dans les trois volumes qui contiennent *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois* (1910-11). Enfin, et peut-être la partie de son œuvre pour laquelle Édouard Chavannes avait le plus de prédilection, de nombreuses publications, in-folios, livres ou articles, consacrées à la plus grande Chine et à l'Asie Centrale, fondements d'une discipline nouvelle: *Inscriptions chinoises de l'Asie centrale* (1902); *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903); *Les pays d'Occident d'après le Wei-Lio* (1905); *Les documents chinois de la mission Stein* (1913), etc.

Au cours de ces vingt dernières années, les philologies orientales ont brisé le cadre, un peu étroit, de ce qu'on appellera, sans trop d'inexactitude, l'humanisme. Le temps n'est plus où le programme du " lettré " ou du " mandarin " enfermait toutes les ambitions du sinologue. Édouard Chavannes avait acquis, par des séjours prolongés en Orient, la connaissance de la langue parlée et de la langue classique, sans laquelle il n'est pas de sinologie possible. L'École Normale l'avait trop profondément marqué pour qu'il perdît jamais le souci de l'art. Il était un humaniste. Mais les sources littéraires lues plus attentivement, les sources épigraphiques en grande partie nouvelles, l'exploration du Bouddhisme chinois, les reliques enfin que les Stein et les Pelliot ont exhumées des sables du Turkestan, ont singulièrement élargi le domaine du sinologue et aiguisé sa vision. En même

temps que cet énorme afflux d'informations révèle les civilisations mi-occidentales qui relient la Chine à l'Inde et au Vieux Monde et fait apparaître des influences et des compénétrations insoupçonnées, il soulève les problèmes les plus compliqués de linguistique et d'archéologie. Pour résoudre ces problèmes, il faut les connaissances les plus variées, et il est bien caractéristique que, parti de Mithra, Franz Cumont soit devenu le collaborateur d'Édouard Chavannes et de Pelliot; il faut des chercheurs qui aient le goût de l'aventure et qui soient garantis contre les spéculations aventureuses. Édouard Chavannes a consacré le meilleur de ses forces à équiper de tels chercheurs et à leur montrer la voie. Il fut un des créateurs de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, cet excellent laboratoire; il attirait au Collège de France de nombreux "lettrés", futurs collaborateurs de nos "savants"; il formait des hommes comme le pauvre E. Huber et Paul Pelliot; il publiait, pour Londres et Pétersbourg, les documents découverts par les missions anglaise et russe. La science qui, dit-on, n'a pas de patrie, et son pays lui sont également redevables.

Ses confrères directs paieront un juste tribut à sa mémoire. Mieux que nous ne saurions le faire, et avec plus d'autorité, ils expliqueront comment, exempt de hâte, libre de toute arrière-pensée personnelle, il a construit des ouvrages où il n'y a ni vains ornements, ni parties caduques. Ils diront que ses livres, qu'ils renouvellent de vieux problèmes ou qu'ils soient neufs d'objet et de manière, sont, pour les sinologues d'aujourd'hui et de demain, des guides sûrs et des amis. Aucun orientaliste ne les étudiera sans profit. Pour être austères—car Édouard Chavannes n'a jamais écrit pour le public, et, si ce n'est quelques discours académiques, sur "les Prix de Vertu en Chine", par exemple, on chercherait en vain dans sa longue bibliographie une page de vulgarisation—pour être austères, ces livres n'en sont pas moins aimables. On y respire partout une fleur de courtoisie et de probité; on y prend contact avec un des esprits les plus distingués de ce temps.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

[Murs, 1918.]

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